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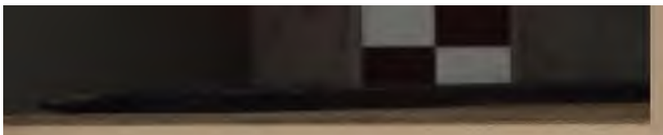
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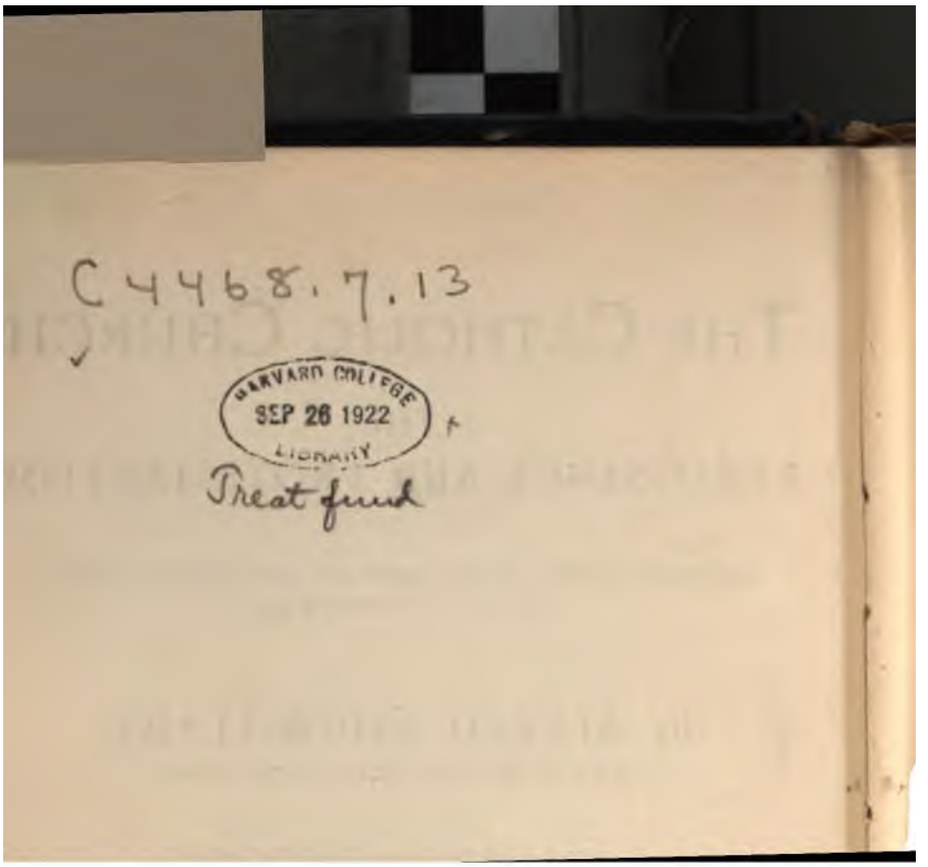
By ALFRED BAUDRILLART

RECTOR OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF PARIS

WITH A PREFATORY LETTER FROM
H. E. CARDINAL PERRAUD
OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY

AUTHORISED TRANSLATION BY
MRS PHILIP GIBBS

London
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO. LTD.
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PREFATORY LETTER

AUTUN, *15th April* 1904.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You are about to publish the lectures which you gave last winter in the hall of the *rue d'Assas* on "The Catholic Church, the Renaissance, and the Reformation." They are a summary, in three series of lectures, containing the essence of what you have already taught the students of the Catholic Institute, but they go deeper into your subject, and open up new fields of inquiry by the use of more abundant materials.

You will bear me out when I say that you did not easily obtain my promise to write a few lines destined to appear at the beginning of your book. Modesty is no doubt very praiseworthy, but I think you have allowed it to carry you too far. It seemed to me unnecessary to introduce to the public, as if he were a stranger, a historian to whom the French Academy has twice decreed the highest of its rewards, the *grand prix Gobert*, and a professor who, in the performance of his duties, has brought so much honour to the Catholic Institute of Paris.

However, you repeated your request so persist-

ently that I had to acknowledge myself vanquished, though not convinced, and in spite of my reluctance I consent, in the words of an old proverb, "to carry water to the river." Who, indeed, needs my assurance of the painstaking preparation you make for your works, whether written or delivered by word of mouth? In this respect you have remained faithful to our old and cherished Normal School methods, with which I was familiar thirty years before you in that house in the *rue d'Ulm*, of which the original purpose and constitution has unfortunately been utterly changed lately, despite the survival of its official title.

A brief acquaintance with your works is sufficient to convince your readers or audience of your scrupulous care in making it your duty to go always to original sources of information, and that you contemn those careless methods of research which consist in borrowing conclusions ready made, save for some slight modification of form, from second-hand authors.

Another merit of your work is that you have known how to acknowledge certain faults with absolute sincerity in those with whom we, as Catholics, claim fellowship, and to accord due justice to our adversaries.

Thus in your first most interesting lessons on the Renaissance—which, by the way, taught me many things that I did not know, or recalled things which I had forgotten—having praised those Popes of the

fifteenth century who were not afraid to encourage scholars, and to restore classical letters and the treasures of antiquity to their place of honour, you pointed out that at least two of them, exceeding the bounds of intellectual liberalism, gave their confidence to, and even lavished marks of favour upon, certain humanists who, without the least scruple, extolled in their writings the fundamental maxim of epicurean epics: *Sequere naturam.*

You have just put into practice the brave and noble advice given by Leo XIII. to those who, like you, have the honour of teaching ecclesiastical history. Having reminded them of this saying in the book of Job: "Hath God any need of your lie?"[1] the great Pope adds these lines, and it gives me pleasure to apply them to you:

"The historian of the Church will be strong in proportion as he insists upon her divine origin, which is superior to every concept of a merely worldly and natural institution, and the more loyal he is in dissembling none of those trials to which the faults of her children, and sometimes even of her ministers, have subjected the Spouse of Christ in the course of centuries. When studied thus, the history of the Church constitutes in itself a splendid and conclusive demonstration of the truth and divinity of Christianity."[2]

[1] Job, chap. xiii. ver. 7.
[2] Encyclical to the French clergy, 8th September 1899.

The impartiality, of which you give such convincing proofs, especially in your treatment of the delicate and difficult question of the Inquisition, has equipped you well for the study and appreciation of the causes, developments, and results of that great religious crisis of modern times known as the Protestant Reformation.

You have been pleased to recall that I myself, long before you,[1] devoted eight years of public teaching in the Sorbonne to the study of this event, bringing to bear thereon the triple light of theology, history, and the Fathers. I willingly accept the thanks you offer me for having lent you the numerous notes which I collected during that most laborious period of my priesthood; and for my part I congratulate you on having made such good use of them. And yet you have by no means let them hamper you, for you have entirely preserved the freedom of your plan, your explanations, and your conclusions.

I shall not undertake an analysis of the lectures in which you have summarised the problems of philosophy, theology, morals, and even of social economy, involved in the study of Protestantism, which will soon have lived for four centuries.

How will they justify the exalted and almost prophetic views of the immortal author of *L'Histoire*

[1] From 1866 to 1874.

des Variations and the *Avertissements aux Protestants*? How pleased Bossuet would have been to read your works and to know how thoroughly you bear him out in his showing "how the general foundations laid by the Reformation—namely, contempt for the authority of the Church, the denial of the Apostolic succession, the indictment of the preceding centuries, and even the contempt of the Fathers, the bursting of every barrier, and the complete abandonment of human curiosity to its own devices—must inevitably produce what we have seen—namely, unbridled licence in all religious matters."[1]

Moreover, it seems to me that this great Bishop, who was so clear-sighted in denouncing the attacks made by a rash critic against the very foundations of our faith—the similarity of which attacks to the heresies of Socinius and Calvin he found small difficulty in showing[2]—would have highly approved of what you have said, or rather what you have implied by means of allusion, discreet but well enough understood by your audience in the *rue d'Assas*, concerning the strange and perilous experiments in exegesis and apologetics which are applied nowadays to the understanding of the holy Gospels and to the explanation of the establishment of Christianity in the world by scholars who still think themselves Catholics,

[1] *Histoire des Variations*, Book XV.
[2] *Défense de la Tradition et des Saints Pères.*

but who seem unaware of the logical bonds connecting their hypercriticism with certain of the early theories of the reformers.

You could not have spoken more truthfully than in the decisive argument which forms the conclusion of your work. I borrow it almost word for word:

"If you believe that dogma is subject to change; that religious knowledge is purely subjective and symbolical; that it is subject to every contingency, both present and future, of private interpretation; then you are no longer a Christian."[1]

Accept, my dear friend, the renewed assurance of my most affectionate devotion in Our Lord.

✣ ADOLPHE-LOUIS-ALBERT, CARD. PERRAUD,
Bishop of Autun.

[1] Page 326 *infra.*

PREFACE

I BEG now to offer to the public the result of much reading, research, and reflection on the subject of those questions which I began to study long ago. It first came in my way to examine them closely at the Normal School twenty-four years ago whilst attending the lectures of M. Gabriel Monod. Some people will be astonished, perhaps, to see this name at the beginning of a work of Catholic apologetics. I owe it to justice, even more than to gratitude, to affirm that I have seldom heard more impartial teaching. If the later personal studies which I have been able to make have brought me to appreciate certain tendencies and facts in a manner very different from that of my instructor, they have also proved to me that the facts as presented were always such as the documents set forth. An example to ponder over, now that, alas, history, after a too short period of independent research, seems to have become again a weapon in party hands, rather than the matter of calm objective science.

Fifteen years later, when I was entrusted with the teaching of ecclesiastical history at the Catholic Institute of Paris, another course of lectures became

known to me; it was that which Father Adolphe Perraud, now a Cardinal, had taught at the Sorbonne from 1866 to 1874. One must have had these lessons and all their scientific apparel in one's hands, as I have had, in order to realise what a spoliation of texts, accumulation of researches, and gradual formation of personal views in the light of original documents they represent. When I asked the Bishop of Autun to be so good as to endorse these lectures in some sort with his very high authority, I was only recognising their indebtedness to him. It gives me great pleasure to thank him publicly.

During ten years I have thrice taught the history of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and I have been forced to keep always up to date. Of selections from text-books, pamphlets, treatises, or articles, I have read or consulted all that seemed likely to cast some true light on a subject which will doubtless never be quite exhausted. Moreover, when the Catholic Institute confided to me a part of the recently founded apologetic instruction, I chose for preference an epoch in which I thought I was already well qualified. The welcome given to my lectures by a numerous and sympathetic audience encourages me to publish them, a thing I had at first no thought of doing. I add to them a study, slightly modified, which appeared eight years ago in *La France chrétienne dans l'histoire*, published by Didot. It

formed the necessary complement to this volume. There will be found in these studies the trace of ideas put into circulation by certain great works which are, or should be, classics among Catholics: that of Pastor upon the *History of the Popes from the end of the Middle Ages*; next to which I shall cite the short but excellent work of M. Guirand on the *Church and the Origin of the Renaissance*; the six volumes of Mgr. Janssen on *Germany and the Reformation*, completed and renewed by Evers in his *Los von Rom*, and by P. Denifle in *Luther and Lutherdom*; those of Du Boys and of Dom Gasquet on the *Origin of the English Reformation*; of M. de Meaux on the *Religious Struggles of our Country, and French Politics in regard to Protestantism.* For the present period, the important book of the Abbé Martin on the *Future of Protestantism and Catholicism*; the suggestive and learned inquiry of M. Georges Goyan on *Religious Germany*; the studies of M. Thureau-Daugin and P. Brémond on the *Religious History of England in the Nineteenth Century.* I mention here—without the smallest pretension to draw up a bibliography—only those Catholic works of a general character which are accessible to educated readers who are, however, not students by profession.

After much hesitation I decided not to load these lectures with notes: I thought it better to preserve

the quite popular character of the work, and not to tire any readers it might attract by numerous references to the foot of the page. Nearly all the critics who have been kind enough to mention my book have regretted my resolve; I yield, therefore, in this new edition, to their wish. It will be understood, however, that it is not possible for me to give here a bibliography of original sources of reference; that would mean work unending. I shall content myself, therefore, with indicating at the beginning of each chapter the principal second-hand works of reference which may be consulted by those who wish to do so; they will find in these all the bibliographical information that is necessary or useful.

I do not fear the avowal that my lectures are apologetic in their aim; the most competent judges have been pleased to recognise that this detracts nothing from their scientific value, and that my point of view has not affected my impartiality.

I have never had a liking for evasion, nor for what it is agreed to call pious deceptions. The Catholic Church needs only the truth, and is strong enough to bear the whole truth.

May these pages, then, do some good, and enlighten those prejudiced but conscientious minds who do not disdain to make use of them!

A. B.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

THE RENAISSANCE AND PROTESTANTISM

I

What is the Renaissance, and in what particulars is it opposed to the spirit of Christianity in Italy?[1]

SINCE the rise of Christianity there has been no greater and no more important European revolution in the history of ideas than what in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries wrested a large number of souls from the Catholic Church, leading some to ancient rationalism and drawing others to a wholly individualistic conception of the Christian life, founded upon free inquiry. This twofold movement, which has been continuous throughout modern times, bears the names of the Renaissance and the Reformation. We have deemed it of interest to study in these

[1] On this subject may be consulted: Ch. Blanc, *Histoire de la Renaissance en Italie.* Paris, 1889. Burckhardt, *La civilisation en Italie au temps de la Renaissance,* trans. Schmitt. Paris, 1885. Gebhart, *Les Origines de la Renaissance en Italie.* Paris, 1879. *La Renaissance italienne et la philosophie de l'histoire.* Paris, 1887. *L'Italie mystique.* Paris, 1893. Guirand, *L'Eglise et les Origines de la Renaissance.* Paris, 1902. Mancini, *Vita di Lorenzo Valla.* Florence, 1891. De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme.* Paris, 1892. Pastor, *History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages.* English trans. published by Messrs Kegan Paul & Co. Thureau-Dangin, *St Bernardin de Sienne.* Paris, 1895. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus.* Berlin, 1880-1881.

apologetic lectures the attitude of the Church in the presence of these two movements. This widely variant attitude has provoked against her, as we well know, two accusations of very different kinds. She has been reproached, on the one hand, with extending undue favour towards the less Christian of the two movements, even to the extent of allowing herself to join it in some measure, and so taint herself. Towards the more Christian, on the other hand, she is accused of being unduly harsh; of knowing too little of that deep inner religious consciousness, which was, her accusers say, the true Christianity; which alone could quicken the Christian religion after the decadence of the dying Middle Ages.

This is a historical problem of the highest interest; yet a problem not exclusively historical, for we are still in the presence of the spirit of the Renaissance and the spirit of the Reformation. They are currents that ever unite, and to this day they make common cause against the Catholic Church. They seem opposed, yet they have a common source: autonomy, or, if you will, the absolute independence of individual intellect.

What is the Renaissance? and in what particulars is it opposed to the spirit of Christianity? This is the question I wish to study with you to-day. And I shall draw your attention first to Italy, for it was there that this movement took rise. Has it not been well said that "in Europe, the Italian was the first modern man"?

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What does the word Renaissance awaken in us? Foremost, the thought of one of the most brilliant epochs in the intellectual and artistic history of man. Abandoning the resources of the Middle Ages, rich

with Christian sentiment and chivalry, men applied themselves chiefly to the study of antiquity, its works of art and intellect. In every branch of culture they were engrossed in the copying of classic models, so that indeed the Renaissance seems at first a new birth of antiquity. It has been called also the rebirth of the human mind, for the germs of ideas which were to renovate science, social and political order, and, in a certain degree, even the doctrines and beliefs of the preceding age, were acquired in the study of the ancients. Many sought in antiquity the governing principles of their opinions and actions, but above all they borrowed from the ancients that great energising force, that great lever of their intellects, the exclusive use of reason, the observance of natural phenomena alone; and in virtue of this, that return to the past was the dayspring of a new era, the very origin of unlimited progress. Moreover, by means of antiquity, nature and reason, which have now become queens and mistresses of modern times, were rediscovered. Such is the Renaissance in its widest sense, as illustrated by Michelet and Burckhardt with their well-known antichristian enthusiasm.

But what was the reason for this reversion which was directed so exclusively towards antiquity and its principles? For so general a movement and such extreme consequences? Already, in preceding centuries—the ninth, twelfth, and fourteenth—men had been face to face with the classical Renaissance, and it had never produced such effects. Why did it produce them in the fifteenth? Why, in the sixteenth, did it lead to the separation of so many souls from the Church?

It is indeed difficult to solve such a problem, especially in few words; for to answer these ques-

tions one must probe to the very heart of society, dig to the very well-springs of minds; and what documents are capable of laying bare the very foundation of a society and of the minds of a given epoch? Yet a minute study of this epoch discloses the fact that the political and social condition of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries produced, at least among Italians of the higher classes, a psychological and moral state singularly appropriate to the comprehension and reception of the lessons of antiquity.

Now, the moment the Italians were ready for these lessons, antiquity was presented to them in all its forms: in arts, literature, and philosophy: the genius of antiquity met with, and fertilised, the genius of Italy. Thence was born the man of the Renaissance, who, through the gradual loss of faith and morals, ceased to be Christian; this I shall endeavour to demonstrate.

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At the beginning of the fourteenth century, all connection was definitely broken in Italy between the two great universal powers which, in the Middle Ages, had been at once her glory, and, in some measure, a guarantee to her of a law-abiding social order: I mean the Empire and the Papacy.

The Empire fell in 1250, and, though restored in Germany, exerted but a secondary and ephemeral influence in the peninsula. In 1305 the Papacy established itself in France for a long period, leaving Italy to herself. It was an era of atrocious civil wars, of bloody conflict of parties, of local tyrannies, and the travesty of lawful sovereignty.

The monarchy which Frederick II. had lately realised in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, served as the model on which the little Italian princes strove

to form their state. In the Italy of the fourteenth century there was not a single legitimate power. It is important to establish this thoroughly.[1]

The tyrant, as well as the different parties disputing power, employed force and cunning without the shadow of a scruple; first to obtain and then to retain their rule, tyrants and parties did not hesitate to ruin, exile, or exterminate those who embarrassed them. When they had become masters they possessed a power absolute though precarious, an omnipotence ephemeral and frail. They thirsted for possession; for possession immediate and as comprehensive as possible, since they must hold possession under the malignant eyes of jealous enemies and of conspirators. It is inevitable that those who wield power under these conditions should be tyrants in the worst acceptation of the word.

How various are the types of these tyrants in the Italy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries! Consider Agnello of Pisa at the zenith of pride and exaltation; he rides through the streets bearing a golden sceptre; he exhibits himself "*comme des reliques*" at his palace window, reclining on rugs and cushions of gold brocade; he exacts the mode and address proper to the Pope and to the Emperor, and he requires to be served kneeling.[2]

Other tyrants with wider power, though not less unworthy, seem to make a better impression. Such are the Viscontis of Milan, a family which governed in the midst of horrible tragedies, almost ceaseless

[1] Consult Burckhardt, *La civilisation en Italie au temps de la Renaissance*, vol. i. part i.; *L'Etat considéré au point de vue du mécanisme*; and Gebhart, *Les Origines de la Renaissance en Italie*, chap. iii.

[2] Filippo Villani, *Istorie*, xi. 101.

treasons, poisonings, and assassinations. Barnabo Visconti (1354) has a family likeness to the cruellest Roman Emperors. He issues an articled decree making the penalty of death a torture of forty days' duration. His chief occupation is boar hunting. Whoever dares encroach upon the august hunter's rights perishes amid most fearful torments. He compels the trembling populace to maintain five thousand hounds for his use. His grandnephew, Giovanni-Maria, perfected the institution: he trained his hounds to hunt men. When the people's cry of "*pace!*" reached his ears in the month of May 1409, while the protracted war still raged, he ordered the crowd to be charged, and caused the death of two hundred persons. In consequence of this event the mere use of the words *pace* and *guerra* was forbidden, and even the priests were ordered to say thenceforth at the *Agnus Dei*: "*Dona nobis tranquillitatem.*"[1]

Under the last Visconti the State had but one care: the safety of the prince. The latter sowed dissension broadcast, being persuaded that this procedure was the only means of ruling. He invariably placed together an honest man and a knave, who were to watch and denounce each other. He employed mercenaries for his defence — *condottieri* — whose demands became greater every day, for they knew their power. The time would come when, seeing their advantage in the prince's overthrow, they would not hesitate to achieve it. Thus the Viscontis perished, and the house of Sforza took their place.

Francesco Sforza is the most brilliant type of the adventurer, and of the Italian *condottiere*. He was the admiration of his contemporaries of the fifteenth century, for he surpassed all as an exemplar of the

[1] Burckhardt, *op. cit.* i. 14-16.

triumph of personal force and victorious ambition crowned with glory, power, and possession.

At Naples, despite appearances of legality, the political government was carried on amid the same conditions. We may take as an example Ferrante or Ferdinand, son of Alphonso the Great, hateful among all the princes of the fifteenth century. In his monstrous cruelty, he liked to see his enemies about him, whether imprisoned alive in solidly constructed cages, or dead and embalmed, wearing the clothes they had worn in life. He even made no mystery of his collection of mummies.[1]

Against such men every means of defence was permissible. Tyrannicide was exalted as in ancient times, and was encompassed under singularly odious and demoralising conditions. The necessity of safety in its accomplishment led to the selection of the church as the scene of murder; and when the tyrant's head was bowed in prayer before his God, the assassins' knife would cast him wounded or lifeless at the foot of the altar.[2]

A pagan sovereignty provokes a pagan resistance.

What condition is graver for a society than this absence of all legitimate power, than this state in which nothing happens in virtue of justice when the possessor of force, intellect, and ability may permit himself all things? Such a state of affairs is certainly well adapted to develop human energies.[3] Italy abounded with notable personalities and strong wills; for robust temperaments and individualities, original

[1] Burckhardt, *op. cit.* vol. i. part i. chap. v. *Les grandes maisons régnantes.*

[2] Burckhardt, *op. cit.* vol. i. part i. chap. vi. *Les adversaires de la tyrannie.*

[3] Burckhardt, 2nd part, chap. i., *L'Etat Italien et l'individu.*

even to monstrosity, were formed in these party struggles. But scruples as to the means which might be employed to obtain success did not enter into consideration. The Christian law fell into contempt. After trampling the Church underfoot all their lives, most of these triumphant adventurers died laughing at her excommunications.

Reaction was inevitable: the demoralisation gradually percolated from the higher to the lower classes. All wished to be rich, powerful, and strong; success and pleasure, success for the sake of pleasures, such was the goal which each proposed to attain. What had become then of Christian feeling? The Italian, thus evolved, was ready to be influenced by the spirit of antiquity in the worst or most pagan sense. And at this very moment antiquity was reborn in manifold guise.

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The spirit of antiquity was revived in a very different manner in Italy and in the north of Europe.

In the north this spirit is, so to speak, an importation, whereas the Italian has but to return to the past; antiquity survived with him; he had but to look around him to realise it. Rome, the city "of eloquent ruins," as Ozanam says, had already induced many returns towards classical antiquity and many vocations to artistic, historical, and literary pursuits. The study of monuments and excavations was to multiply the number of these vocations.

The first indication of the Rennaissance was to appear in Art, and this at Florence through Brunelleschi. Beauty of form was soon to be preferred above pure Christian inspiration; the new principles in Art were—the imitations of the ancients, the return to the study of nature, the quest of form and beauty

for their own sakes. Even Christian subjects were influenced by these new principles. The Saint Sebastians, the Saint John the Baptists, and the Magdalens served only to show the artists' knowledge of the nude and of physical beauty. A Saint Peter became nothing but a Jupiter deprived of his identity.

You have perhaps read that page of Michelet, at the beginning of his volume on the Renaissance, where he speaks of the Leonardo da Vincis in the Louvre:

"Opposite this ancient mysticism (that of Fra Angelico) the genius of the Renaissance in its most eager restlessness and its keenest striving shone forth from the pictures of da Vinci. There are more than a thousand years between these contemporary works. Bacchus, Saint John, and Gioconda turn their eyes upon you; you are fascinated and troubled; a sense of infinity affects you by a strange magnetism. Art, nature, future, genius of mystery and discovery, master of the depths of the world and of the unexplored abyss of the ages, speak, what do you want with me? This canvass attracts me, calls me, seizes and absorbs me; I go to it in spite of myself as the bird to the serpent. Bacchus or Saint John, it matters not, it is the same person under different aspects. Look at the young Bacchus in the midst of the primeval landscape. What silence! what curiosity! in solitude he meditates upon the origin of things and listens to the rustling of new-born nature: in the Cyclops' cave he hears the intoxicating murmur of the gods. There is the same curiosity concerning good and evil in his Saint John the Precursor: a resplendent glance which gives its own light and laughs at the obscurity of time and things, the infinite eagerness of the new soul seeking know-

ledge and crying: 'I have found it!' It is the moment of the revelation of truth to an intellect in full flower; of the apprehension of the fruits of discovery, with gentle irony against the decrepit child, old age."[1]

But the return to ancient learning had preceded the renewal of ancient art, and was to have deeper and more lasting effects. In the latter case it was not merely a question of admirable form, but of the very substance of ideas, which, thanks to the form and also, as cannot be too often repeated, to the predisposition of the Italian mind, would imbue their intellects. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are the epoch of great and fortunate discoveries: who is not aware of the praiseworthy efforts of Petrarch to exhume antiquity, efforts which led to a general propagation of all it works?

To whom was this due? To the humanists—that is to say, to those who at the beginning of the second half of the fourteenth century placed antiquity on the basis of intellectual culture, and consequently prepared that fusion of the ancient with the Italian spirit which gave rise to the spirit of modernity. Humanism is a power with many ramifications the influence of which is exercised in many different ways.

It was exercised first by striking personalities, by geniuses of the highest order, such as Petrarch and Boccaccio; by the whole of that class of men of letters who gradually spread over the whole of Italy and so led to the dissemination of the ancient culture. Again, it was exercised by the universities, and by the schools of Latin which were founded in many towns. At the court of Giovanni-Francesco

[1] Introduction, p. 101.

de Gonzaga (1407-1444), at Mantua, a school was established by the illustrious humanist Vittorino da Feltre.[1] He spent his life teaching, and wrote hardly anything; he was a humanist in virtue of the harmony of his gifts and knowledge, which made him one of those "universal men" who were so much admired by the Italians of the fifteenth century. He excelled in all the arts, and he was as well acquainted with bodily exercises as with those of the mind. Pupils came to him, therefore, from the whole of Italy and Germany, both rich and poor, for he taught gratuitously those who could not pay. He was, indeed, a Christian master.

These humanists, indeed, were the teachers of princes, of great lords, and of the most eminent citizens of the different towns, and thus there was formed a new and particularly powerful class of disciples of the ancient culture. Bankers, merchants, and booksellers were soon to rival the heads of states.

The secret of the marvellous influence of the Medici was that they placed themselves at the head of the intellectual movement. Cosmo has the glory of having recognised the finest flower of the spirit of the ancients in the philosophy of Plato. Alphonso the Great, King of Naples, and Frederic, Duke of Urbino, also, were, each of them, a veritable Mecænas to the humanists of their time.

There was, then, a singular fascination about these men, who seemed to be of superior intellect; and all progress was looked for from them. The humanist became the factotum of the little Italian court; he was indispensable to republics, princes, and even

[1] C. Rosmini, *Idea dell'ottimo precettore nella vita e disciplina di Vittorino da Feltre e dei suoi discepoli.* Bassano, 1810. *Cf.* Burckhardt, vol. i. part iii. chap. v.

popes; it was impossible to do without his co-operation in the drawing up of letters and in the solemn holding of public orations.

The two secretaries and stylists of Leo X., Pietro Bembo and Giacomo Sadolet, became illustrious among their fellows. A humanist was privileged in all things, inasmuch as he had knowledge and talent. Though a layman, and married, he spoke in the churches; he would ascend the pulpit, and there pronounce the panegyric of a saint, or the funeral oration of some distinguished person; he delivered marriage sermons, and preached even at the first mass of some ecclesiastical friend.[1]

This exaggerated favour ended in the downfall of the humanists. They were soon greedy for gold, and puffed up with pride. Parents, hoping to see their children grow up at the court of a prince, shrunk from no sacrifice that might obtain for them the instruction and education which would enable them to play later so brilliant a *rôle*. They made them into little prodigies, who, though hardly adolescent, threw themselves into a devouring, feverish life, becoming tutors, secretaries, professors, body-servants, or quasi-ministers of princes. They were exposed to every seduction and every advance, and they were the objects of mortal jealousies. It is not astonishing that these youths should soon surrender themselves to the most scandalous excesses, and that to infidelity they should add immorality.

They formed factions, and made formidable accusations against each other, calumniating each other in the foullest way; and so partly causing the deep discredit into which they fell in the sixteenth century.

[1] *Anecdota litteraria ex mss. Codicibus eruta*, 4 vols. Romæ, 1772-1783; C. Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo*. Milan, 1808. 3 vols.

What changes have been wrought by the humanists? Firstly, a general Latinisation of culture, which led to the reappearance of all the styles of antiquity.[1] Treatises, letters, and dialogues diffused the manners and the doctrines of the old Roman literature throughout Italy; what is but commonplace to us seemed then quite new; they were laboriously rediscovered views upon subjects that it had no longer been the custom to discuss. Is it astonishing that such writings should have excited universal enthusiasm? Nevertheless, it did not take long for this too complete resurrection of the past to produce grievous consequences. Soon the national culture was threatened. The free and spontaneous use of intellect, which was supposed to have been freshly awakened, erected new barriers around itself. Above all, it led to the appeal to the ancients—that is to say, to pagans—for the solution of the great problems which Christianity had solved for the preceding generations. It developed Latinisation of culture into its paganisation.

It is at this point that we reach the root of the question we are considering. In what particulars is the Renaissance opposed to the spirit of Christianity? Is it in the return to classical letters? No; the return to classical letters had, in itself, nothing essentially evil.

Many of the Fathers of the Church had approved of that culture, and had themselves derived profit from it without the smallest loss of their Christian spirit.

Is it in the return to the cult of form and beauty? Again, no. Assuredly, from the point of view of form, an artist's concepts may be more beautiful than

[1] Burckhardt, *op. cit.* vol. i. part iii. chap. ix.

the painting or sculpture of the Middle Ages without lowering the inspiration which animates his works.

Is it in the return to the study of nature? No, not even in that, although there are some who pretend that the Church held it dangerous and shameful in the centuries preceding the fourteenth and fifteenth. "Long before Pius II. in his *Commentaries* praised the landscapes of the Alban Mountains and Amiata, the holy books had celebrated the marvels of physical nature in magnificent terms."[1] And as to human nature and the problems to which it gives rise, they had been studied by Saint Augustine, Saint Thomas, and many others with a precision and minuteness by no means less than those which were brought to bear upon them by the writers of the Renaissance.

Once more, in what particular is the Renaissance opposed to the spirit of Christianity? In the return to the ancient spirit, the spirit of pagan antiquity. It is indeed this which places the Italian Renaissance at the antipodes of Christianity.

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There is fundamental opposition between the ancient and the Christian spirit.

The Christian concept of life is based on the idea of a nature fallen, corrupt, and reduced to feebleness; on the idea of sin and the necessity of divine help to raise nature and to avoid sin. Again, it is based on the idea of the redemption of humanity by a God who was made Man, and suffered. Christianity places the supernatural order above the natural, and, if it deifies man, it does so by infusing supernatural life into him; by giving him a participation

[1] Guirand, *L'Eglise et les origines de la Renaissance*, p. 288. See on the subject *Introduction* to Pastor's *History of the Popes*. English translation. London: Kegan Paul.

in the divine life—a free favour of God, that is, a gift or a grace.

It is quite otherwise with paganism. The ancient and pagan concept of life is based on the deification of nature itself, of physical nature and human nature. *Eritis sicut dii*, ye shall be as gods, said paganism; and it was said in the sense in which the Tempter said it to our first parents. As there is nothing above nature and reason, the means to the final good is the following of nature. It is well if reason can yet discern the good and the best, the inferior and the superior in nature! If it be otherwise, the last word will be *the restoration of the flesh and human pride.*

Now, I say that the Renaissance, and, in the Renaissance, the humanism which was the vehicle of its ideas, returned to the lower concept. And I prove it.

Humanism takes no account of the supernatural order, which it passes in silence; it proclaims the goodness of nature, its power and efficacy as a means to all ends.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Colluccio Salutati, the master of Poggio, wrote in his *Labours of Hercules*, "heaven belongs *by right* to those energetic men who have sustained great struggles and achieved fine works on earth," thus proclaiming that man draws his last end and his perfection from himself alone and from his personal efforts.[1]

With regard to human nature, humanism already professed that optimism of which Rabelais is a witness, when, speaking of the inhabitants of Thelema, he says: "Only this clause was in their rule: 'Do what you wish to do,' because people who are free,

[1] Fil. Villani, *Vite*, p. 15. Quoted by Burckhardt, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 342.

well born, and well educated, communing in seemly companies, have by nature an instinct and incentive urging them to act virtuously."[1] *Sequere naturam*, follow nature!

To raise the humanity within oneself to the highest degree of intensity, to know all, to taste all, to experience all, such is the moral law of humanism; a law that is in marvellous concord with the aspirations and lack of scruples to which the political and social condition gave rise in the Italy of the fifteenth century. The highest ideal is the *universal man*, who develops harmoniously each fine quality latent in his body, and each faculty of his mind; who cultivates all the arts and sciences.[2]

Sequere naturam. As I said before, it is only by chance that the axiom is interpreted in this relatively elevated sense. Several of the ancient philosophers had already been compelled to give a definition of nature allowing of distinction between the instincts. Nature, said some, consists in the finer aspirations common to humanity, the laws of universal conscience; others considered that it was noble individual instincts, capable of raising choice souls above their fellows; finally, others thought that it consisted of all the instincts, whatever they might be, their right to respect being in direct proportion to their imperiousness.

The Renaissance found itself confronted by these various definitions and tendencies, all of them dangerous, for the exaltation of human personality appears at the foundation of all. Their last word is pride;

[1] *Gargantua*, bk. i. chap. lvii. Rabelais went still further in bk. iv. chap. xxxii., and completely disclosed his opinions in the myth of *Physis*.

[2] *Cf.* Guirand, *L'Eglise et les Origines de la Renaissance*, p. 295.

and a system of morals with such a foundation knows no insuperable barrier.

At that epoch, doubtless, as at the present time, the most eminent men thought to find an agent which should be efficacious for the resistance of evil, in the sentiment of honour, that mixture of persisting conscience and egoistic pride which modern men often retain when every other principle is lost. But we know with what vices and illusions this sentiment is compatible.

Moreover, it is necessary to insist on the fact that the Renaissance preferred the least noble of all the definitions of *Sequere naturam*: the satisfaction of every instinct, or, in final analysis, pleasure in all its forms.[1] Lorenzo Valla, for example, declares in his dialogue *de Voluptate* that man has a right to this complete satisfaction of all his desires; that evident danger alone may impose abstinence from adultery and luxury; that, apart from this rule, all sensual pleasure is good; and that continence is a crime against Nature the Good.[2] And this immoral hardihood of Valla seems even timid beside that of Beccadelli (surnamed Panormita of Palermo). In a book which I prefer to leave unnamed, the most hideous vices of antiquity are glorified and recommended. And this book is no isolated phenomenon! Poggio, Filelfo, and Æneas Sylvius delighted to publish the most basely scandalous narratives. Literature has never attained such a degree of obscenity. The most prominent princes accepted the dedication of works of this character. And the reality of life was in accordance with the current theories: the most

[1] Guirand, *op. cit.* p. 296.

[2] *Vallæ opera*, Basileæ, 1519. *Cf.* Pastor, *Introduction*, pp. 16, 30. English trans.

infamous vices reigned without concealment. It was indeed the restoration of the flesh.[1]

To the passion for pleasure was joined the passion for display, and, consequently, cupidity. Money is needed for display and pleasure; and so pens, and, if necessary, persons, were sold; and flattery and black-mail were the means of action employed by the men of letters of the epoch.

The humanists achieved the restoration of the flesh; they achieved also the restoration of human pride. One goal alone, they said, deserves the efforts of man; that is glory, if he can attain to it, with perfect contempt for the vices in spite of which great men have become great. A man of wit or talent, and especially a man of genius, is above laws.

This concept of the moral law implies the existence of great demoralisation. Every man is inclined to justify his life by certain principles which he proclaims; it was so at the epoch of the Renaissance; there was no delay in making doctrines agree with practical immorality, and in proclaiming the latter as a right.

Moreover, we find in the order of speculative doctrines the same spirit of opposition to Christianity as in actual practice of life: reason must not share its reign; it has all power, therefore no check can be placed upon it. Revelation is but an obstacle and an absurdity. So began a series of positive attacks, made openly or covertly, against the teachings of Christianity. Petrarch already deplored that to make an open profession of the Christian faith, and to show that one held it higher than pagan philosophy, was to

[1] Voigt, vol. ii. p. 471 *et seq.*; Pastor, *Introduction*, p. 29. English trans.; Thureau-Dangin, *St Bernadin de Sienne*, pp. 7, 47.

gain a reputation for folly and ignorance.[1] A celebrated politician of Florence, Rinaldo degli Albizzi, declared that science and faith were incompatible;[2] Marsilio Ficino, at the court of the Medici, and Pomponius Lætus at that of the Popes, professed similar doctrines. They denied even the existence of God and the immortality of the soul.

Some of the humanists treated Christianity with disdain and passed it by in silence, as Theodore Gaza showed when he wrote to Panormita: "The scholars of our time hardly ever mention the name of Jesus Christ in their writings."[3] Others, more boldly, turned it to ridicule, seeing in its dogmas nothing but old-fashioned ideas, incapable of leading in the march of progress, and worthy only of rejection.

They found especial fault with what is the very essence of Catholicism, and was most opposed to their pride and sensuality: the principle of authority and the mortifying of the senses. We know how well the Reformation and the Renaissance agree on this point.

Many humanists, on account of the positions they occupied, did not think it discreet to attack the truths of Christianity directly, but they used indirect means, and they did not miss their mark. For example, they mocked at scholasticism, and under pretence of impugning a method, they attacked the foundation of Catholic theology and demolished it piecemeal.

When Poggio, during the council of Constance,

[1] Koerting, *Geschichte der Litteratur Italiens*, etc.; Petrarca, vol. i. pp. 426-427.

[2] *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi*, vol. iii. chap. ii. p. 601. Quoted by Pastor, *Introduction, History of the Popes*, p. 27. Eng. trans.

[3] Quoted by Guirand, *op. cit.* p. 302.

wrote the famous letter in which he exalted Jerome of Prague and his death at the stake, he was in reality exalting the man who could defy the authority of the Church to her face. And when, in his treatise on *Avarice*, addressed to the Archbishop of Saragossa, he compared the disinterestedness of the philosopher with the cupidity of the priest, he did more than signalise certain individual traits; he endeavoured to prove that purely human morality is higher and more efficacious than religious morality.

As the clergy, by their office and their celibacy, represent the principle of authority and the ideal of renunciation, and of mortification of the senses, it was to be expected that they would be passionately attacked by the humanists, as indeed they were. Poggio, the forerunner of Voltaire, looked upon priests as nothing but impostors: "At what do they aim, what do they seek under the veil of faith, if not to become rich without working? If they hypocritically feign to despise money and honours, it is that they may seem to owe them to merit and virtue." He makes priests the heroes of the most scurrilous anecdotes of his *Facetiae*, endeavouring thus to show that these professors of continence were the most dissolute of men.

"In the Curia," says Poggio, "everyone is occupied with matters secular; but few things bear any reference to religion. All vices enter in and abound there in such a way that it is a mirror of the universe"; and Lapo de Castiglionchio adds: "Arrogance, insolence, avarice, hypocrisy, boastfulness, gluttony, luxury, perfidy, cowardice, roguery, and deceit are the only things to be found there."[1]

[1] Pastor, *Introduction, History of the Popes*, pp. 29-30. English trans.; Burckhardt, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 225.

"Such are the declamations," says M. Guirand in his excellent book on *The Church and the Renaissance* from which we borrow these last observations, "such are the declamations which were increasingly published in the world of the humanists, who exploited the Church only to defame her."[1]

The monks were the object of their attacks still more than the secular clergy, because they represented the Christian ideal of renunciation in a higher degree. The humanists pushed individualism even to the denial of all dependence and all bonds; the monks, by their vow of obedience and constancy, fought and overcame it. The humanists exalted pride and wit; the monks replaced them with humility and voluntary abasement. The humanists glorified riches; the monks took a vow of poverty. The humanists, in fine, justified sensual pleasure; the monks mortified their flesh with penance and chastity.

The pagan Renaissance felt this opposition so well that it assailed the religious orders with as much hatred as do our modern sectaries. Among its writers, some set themselves to demonstrate the Utopia of the monastic ideal: it was but an illusion calculated to impose upon simple and credulous souls; a semblance destined to hide the vices of convents; a sign-board the object of which was to inveigle custom into the shop that hoisted it. Such is the thesis that Poggio developed in his pamphlets *De Avaritia* and *De Miseria humanæ conditionis*; Leonardo Aretino in his dissertation *Contra hypocritas*; and Filelfo in many of his satires and in his treatise *De Seriis et jocis.*

And these men, whose lives were generally unclean,

[1] Guirand, *L'Eglise et les origines de la Renaissance*, p. 304 *et seq.*

cannot be severe enough against the vices of the cloisters. We know this kind of hypocrisy!

Other humanists, still more radical in their opposition, denied the morality of the monastic ideal: the monk who might have realised it in all its perfection would have gained only their scorn. Obedience, self-denial, poverty, humility, and chastity were looked upon by them as vices resulting from most dangerous perversions of the mind; and this especially in the case of chastity. "Fallen young women," writes Lorenzo Valla, "are of more use to humanity than Sisters and virgins. . . ."[1] The greater the severity and fervency of an Order, the more it was attacked. Thus the Franciscans of the Observance, disciples of Saint Bernadine of Sienna, were the objects of the foulest sarcasm. The Benedictines and the Conventuals, on the other hand, were spared because their riches rendered them more accessible to the thoughts and tastes of the world, and because many of them allowed a relaxation of the monastic ideal.[2] This gives us the exact measure of these writers' sincerity and purity of intention.

I have not to consider here to what radical depth the operations of pagan humanism reached. We may say with Burckhardt: "What eye can sound the depths at which the characters and destinies of peoples are formed, at which natural and acquired qualities constitute a new whole, at which primordial character is two or three times recast, at which intellectual gifts, that we are disposed to regard as primitive at first sight, are relatively late and novel acquisitions. . . .? How shall we unravel these thousand currents by

[1] Valla, *de Voluptate*, bk. i. chap. xliv.
[2] Guirand, *op. cit.* pp. 305-306.

which intellect and morality unceasingly mingle and blend?"[1]

I know—for have Pastor and Thureau-Dangin shown—how much constant faith, strict morality, and even austere penance may be pointed out in that Italy which wished to transform itself from a "guest-house of sorrow," as Dante says, into one of pleasure and epicurean gaiety.[2]

Nevertheless, I cannot forget so many crimes, so many atrocious and subtle acts of revenge, so many mercenary assassinations, so many cowardly and treacherous poisonings, in company with so many ignoble vices, the shameful secret of which is laid open to me by preachers as well as by men of letters and historians, and I can only repeat the avowals of Machiavelli or Benivieni: "Indeed, we Italians are profoundly irreligious and depraved."[3] "Iniquity and sin was multiplied in Italy," says Benivieni, "because the nation had lost the Christian faith. It was generally believed that everything in the world, especially human creatures and affairs, had no cause other than chance. Some thought that the latter was governed by the movements and influences of the stars. The future life was denied, and religion was mocked. The wise men of the world found it too simple, good at best for women and fools. Some saw in it only the lying invention of man. . . . In short, Italy, and especially the town of Florence, was given over to unbelief. . . . Even women denied the faith of Christ; and all, both men and women, returned to pagan customs, delighting in the study of the

[1] Burckhardt, vol. i. part vi., *Mœurs et Religion*, chap. i.
[2] Thureau-Dangin, *St Bernadin de Sienne*, pp. 10-11.
[3] Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, bk. i. chap. xii.

poets, and astrologers, and all the pagan superstitions."[1]

Michelet's aphorism is recalled to my mind: "'Follow nature!' This saying of the stoics was the farewell of antiquity. 'Return to nature' is our greeting from the Renaissance—its first word. And it is the final word of reason."[2]

But behold: this last word of antiquity, this first word of the Renaissance, and this final word of reason, has led not only to vice and crime, but to superstition, to belief in demons and sorcery, that is, to the humiliation of that very reason which it deified!

How much greater and juster a spirit than that of Michelet is shown by Taine, when he writes of those wings of Christianity, which are alone able to raise mankind above itself: "Always and everywhere, for eighteen hundred years, whenever those wings fail or are broken, public and private morals are degraded. In Italy during the Renaissance, in England under the Restoration, in France under the National Convention and the Directorate, man seemed to become as pagan as in the first century; he became at once as he was in the times of Augustus and Tiberius, voluptuous and hard-hearted; he misused others and himself; brutal or calculating egoism regained ascendancy, cruelty and sensuality were openly paraded, and society became the abode of ruffians and the haunt of evil."[3]

Yes: but if the movement of the Renaissance gathered finally to such a head, how comes it that it enjoyed the protection of the Church? This is the problem which we shall next endeavour to elucidate.

[1] Quoted by Perreus, *Jerôme Savonarole*, 2nd ed. p. 44.

[2] Michelet, *Renaissance*, p. 482.

[3] Taine, *Les Origines de la France contemporaine. Le Régime moderne*, vol. ii. p. 118.

II

Characteristics of the Renaissance in France, England, and Germany—The Extent of its Connection in these Countries with the Protestant Movement[1]

HAVING shown you the origin and developments in Italy of that great movement known as the Renaissance, I should, to complete my work, take you over the whole of Europe—to Spain, Hungary, Poland, and even to Sweden—and I should show you the influence of humanism upon the various minds, the universal introduction of the new culture, exercising everywhere its action upon the life of society. But I must limit myself. Moreover, it is not, and must not be, my aim to acquaint you with this movement of humanism and the Renaissance for its own sake. I study it only in its relation to the moral and religious revolution which marked the first half of the sixteenth century. I must therefore confine myself wholly to those nations that played a decisive part in that revolution and initiated the others into it. In Italy, as we have seen, the Renaissance was a true return to classical antiquity, and—thanks to connivances from the nation's moral state—it was also a return to the ancient rational, naturalistic, and pagan spirit. In Germany, the return to classical antiquity involved a return to Christian antiquity; the tendency was not towards

[1] The principal works to consult upon the *Renaissance,* in Germany, France, and England, are named at the head of each section of this chapter.

the reawakening of the ancient spirit, but towards a pretended restoration of primitive Christianity—towards Protestantism. The English and French inclined towards a mixed solution; England, influenced by causes in no way due to humanism or to intellectual progress, was gradually led towards that moderate Protestantism which has for centuries remained its historical characteristic. France, after being shaken to its foundations, remained faithful to its traditional faith, and succeeded in finding the common ground between that faith, the ancient culture, and what was best in the religious aspirations of the sixteenth century.

It is evident that in these three countries the classical movement, the progress of humanism, was mixed to some extent with the origin of the religious movement. The greater part of this treatise will be devoted to showing to what extent they concurred. But first I must answer briefly another question which I seem to read in the minds of my audience. Why did the humanist and religious movements in these countries tend to unite? At first sight they seem contradictory; then what have they in common?

.

In the first place it is a question of date. The Renaissance was in full swing in Italy in the fifteenth century, and reached its apogee in the first quarter of the sixteenth, when it was only beginning to transform Germany, England, and France. It is to be noted that it was after 1530 that doctrine in France became organised, if I may use the expression, by the foundation of the College of France; it was also the time of the arrival of Rosso and Primaticcio. Now, it was in 1517 that Luther published his theses upon

Indulgences; in 1520 that, at the Diet of Worms, he cast defiance at the Roman Church. The two movements were therefore contemporary.

In the second place, classical antiquity, as I have said above, is an importation into Germany, England, and even France. To Germans, English, and French it was not a rediscovery of their past. It was, and could only be, the monopoly of those who studied literature, and consequently its influence was much less in these countries than in Italy.

In Italy everything combined not only to accelerate the movement of transformation, but also to give it a specific direction. For example, the influence of art, though inferior to that of humanism, was very great, because it was felt everywhere, and to the same direction as in humanism; it was either the reappearance or the restoration of the art of antiquity, with the avowed cult of beauty for beauty's sake, and form for form's sake. In Germany, France, and even England there was a very beautiful artistic efflorescence in the first half of the sixteenth century, but this art, though wholly subject to the Italo-classical influence, remained faithful to national traditions. Consider the great number of monuments which covered Germany at the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries; her churches and town halls; examine, in the church of Saint Sebald of Nürnberg, Peter Vischer's masterpiece of such exquisite workmanship; the shrine around which the apostles, whose figures the artist has endowed with the expression of life to so wonderful a degree, mount guard, ranged along their little bronze colonnade; in the dome of Ulm, stay a little before the oaken stalls of Syrlin-the-Elder, which he has enriched with those heads of ancient sages, prophets, and sybils so marvellously

expressive and so perfect; at Nürnberg, again, look at Albert Dürer's intricate work in his little house, which stands to this day; or, in the great salon of the museum of Bâle, tarry before the admirable collection of Holbeins, so keenly realistic yet of such pure and sober draughtsmanship. The influence of the Renaissance is indeed in these; its spirit is there, and especially those ancient attributes of which it is everywhere so lavish; and yet how all this art is, and remains, completely German!

And in France, how entirely French is that exquisite Renaissance, which is the charm, and, as it were, the smile of the reigns of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., and even of the greater part of that of Francis I.![1] Rosso and Primaticcio, imbued with Italo-classical æsthetics, were certainly admired when they came, but they remained, none the less, only a foreign school established in France, and they did not supersede French art, precisely because, as a critic has remarked, "they made no concession to French taste, because the French saw in the work of the former no reflection of themselves or of their life, but of that of the Romans and Greeks; they saw nothing of their own traditions, but those of antiquity; nothing of their beliefs, of Christ, the Virgin and the Saints, but gods and godesses."[2] Precisely for this reason they exercised but a very limited influence. In any case, Italo-classical art had not the smallest effect upon the intellectual movement, and we need take no account of it when studying the intellectual and moral transformation of the French of the sixteenth century; although it would be absurd to study the

[1] E. Muntz, *La Renaissance en Italie et en France à l'époque de Charles VIII.* Paris, 1885.

[2] Lemounier, in *L'Histoire de France,* of Lavisse, vol. v. p. 357.

Italians of the fifteenth without taking the artistic factor into consideration.

Even in the intellectual order, the restoration of antiquity, since it was an importation, exercised but a restricted influence in Germany, England, and France; the national genius was strong enough to absorb the foreign elements; Colet and Thomas More are real Englishmen under the mantle of the Renaissance; and in France even those who drink deepest of the spirit of the Renaissance remain Frenchmen, faithful to their ancestral traditions; did not Rabelais and Marguerite de Navarre, for instance, carry on in a new spirit the tradition of the charming old romancers?

In France and England humanism found a considerable following in the higher classes, among writers, professors, scholars, the notability, magistrates, and members of the superior clergy, but it did not reach the masses.

France, unlike Italy, was not composed of little principalities or republics, where everything was seen and known and reacted immediately from top to bottom; it was one great body, consisting of imposing masses. The middle classes throughout the kingdom were stable, powerful, and traditional. They were scaffolded about by a system of institutions which supported them; they were formed in colleges and in very ancient universities, the methods of which they did not fail to defend. These environments opposed a sort of inertia to the reception of new ideas, and even repugnance, when it was ascertained that suspicious religious ideas were mingled with the literary innovations.

You know of that episode in the history of the college of Navarre, at the opening of the session of

1533. The pupils played a comedy in public, according to custom (school entertainments had already been invented). On this occasion the rhetoricians took it into their heads to perform a piece of their own devising, full of allusions to contemporary events, although they had as yet no journals to inform them. The outline of the piece was this. A queen—Marguerite of Navarre—is engaged in spinning, when a Fury (Master Gerard) approaches her and gives her a copy of the Gospels for the purpose of perverting her. The queen reads it, is changed into a Fury, and directs all her energy to the oppression of the unfortunate and innocent. No one was deceived as to the allusions.

I need not remind you of the attitude of the Sorbonne, especially in the famous episode of the *Quarrel of Erasmus* which set the humanists and scholastics at war.

Finally, in the moral order, the Renaissance did not find the ground in Germany, France, or England prepared as it was in Italy. The fourteenth-century Italian, cast in his political and social mould, was necessary to enable the Italian of the fifteenth to assimilate all the fruits of the ancient spirit. England, France, and Germany had undoubtedly much to suffer during those sad fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but they were organised states, with legitimate governing powers; the classes of the nation formed a hierarchy; in Germany, each man had his rights, under the Emperor's guarantee; in France there was never better harmony between the different classes of society than in the first twenty years of the sixteenth century; the monarchy was still limited; it exercised its own rights paternally, and still respected those of others. Briefly, there was good order, and, on the

whole, an authority worthy of respect. The masses were neither demoralised nor unchristianised, as was the case in too many Italian towns.

It was therefore natural that in Germany, England, and France the movement of the Renaissance should not tend to reawaken paganism: if it was to introduce reforms they would be Christian ones.

Where the masses were, from different causes, disposed to follow the religious reformers, they would submit to the influence of that humanism which was associated with the reformers' work; this took place in Germany. Where the masses were hostile to the religious reformers, they would regard humanists, whom they considered the allies of the former, with suspicion; this happened in France.

Howbeit, the two movements had points in common, and they had, or seemed to have, a common origin. You have seen why this was the case; I must now show you to what extent this real or apparent confusion existed.

.

"The intellectual life of the German people," says Mgr. Janssen, "enters at the end of the second half of the fifteenth century into a new and happy phase of its development."[1]

A general desire for culture was everywhere manifest. Men of every age and condition became apostles of "*the Renaissance.*" "They went," says Wimpheling,[2] the Alsatian humanist, "*the tutor of*

[1] I confine myself to referring readers to the two works of Mgr. Janssen for particulars as to the German Renaissance: *L'Allemagne à la fin du Moyen Age*, and *La Civilisation en Allemagne depuis la fin du Moyen Age*, vols. i. and vi. of the French translation.

[2] Upon Wimpheling, see the of works Wiskowatoff, *Jacob Wimpheling*, etc., Berlin, 1867, and of Schwarz, Gotha, 1875.

Germany," "from canton to canton, and from country to country, spreading the *good news* everywhere, everywhere exalting the excellence and nobility of the arts and sciences, and praising all the benefits to be derived from their encouragement and development." Germany was never more prolific of remarkable men. Having been formed in the old school, they, at least, were still for the most part convinced Christians. Thanks to printing, their ideas were scattered broadcast. The diffusion of religious books preceded that of the classics; the Bible was republished more than a hundred times between 1452 and 1500, in ninety-eight Latin and sixteen German editions (which proves by the way that it was translated and read in the vulgar tongue long before Luther). The consideration shown to teachers, even elementary ones, shows the great esteem in which knowledge was held.

In different parts of Germany humanists of note appeared whose influence was very great. They sought in the study of the classics for a complement to their Christian education which they by no means renounced. James Wimpheling, in his great pedagogical work, writes: "It is not the study in itself of classical antiquity that is a danger to Christian education; it is the false estimate of it, the bad use to which it may be put. Without doubt, it would be deplorable if we were to propagate by means of the classics a pagan way of judging and thinking, as has often happened in Italy; and if we were to place literary works in the hands of our students which might, in their young minds, imperil patriotism or Christian morality. But, on the other hand, antiquity properly understood may render the most valuable services to morals and theological science."

"We can in all security," says Trithemus, "recommend the study of the ancients to those who do not apply themselves thereto in a frivolous spirit, or for the mere amusement of their minds, but for the serious formation of their intellects, and to amass therefrom, in imitation of the Fathers of the Church, precious seeds appropriate to serve the development of the Christian sciences. For our part, we consider this study indispensable to theology."

We may take Rodolphus Agricola,[1] the Heidelberg professor, who died in 1482, as our type of these humanist teachers; he united all the classical attainments; he wrote verses so well that his contemporaries compared him with Virgil; even in Italy he was admired for his Latin; he knew Hebrew and translated the Psalms. Moreover, he cultivated philosophy and the sciences, and did not scorn to write German of the purest style. Like Petrarch in Italy, he was the revealer of antiquity to his contemporaries. Nevertheless his mind remained Christian and ruled his conduct. "If Agricola is so great," wrote Wimpheling, "it is because his science and philosophy have served only to free him from every passion, and to contribute to the great work of personal perfection, of which God himself is the architect in faith and prayer." [2]

Humanism was at first propagated by teaching. As in Italy, its disseminators were illustrious teachers, such as Alexander Hegins, whose name is associated in our memories with that of the Italian, Vittorino da Feltre. He was director, successively, of the schools

[1] Tresling, *Vita et Merita Rudolphi Agricolæ*. Gröningen, 1830. *Cf.* Janssen, i. p. 101 *sq.* English Trans.

[2] Quoted by Janssen, *History of the German People*, vol. i. p. 101 *sqq.* English trans. Kegan Paul.

of Wesel, Emmerich, and Deventer, where he had, it is said, as many as two thousand two hundred pupils; he made the Greek and Latin classics the basis of the instruction of youth; he modified the methods of teaching, and inspired not only the love of study, but even a passion for teaching, in a great number of his pupils. The attraction he exercised was in great part due to his high moral and religious worth.

The part played by universities was much greater than that of isolated masters, and they were much more active than in Italy; has it not been thus more than once in the course of German history? They were still young, but eminent men gathered around them. At Cologne there were Bartholomeus of Cologne and Ortwin Gratius; at Heidelberg, Rodolphus Agricola, the chancellor Johann von Dalberg, Reuchlin, the illustrious abbot of Sponheim, Johann Trithemus, the greatest German historian of the century; at Erfürth, the famous group of humanists founded by Maternus Pistorius, with Crotus Rubeanus, Eoban Hesse, Hermann Busch, Mutian—the *poets* who soon opposed the scholastics; at Basel, Heylin von Stein, who still adhered to the scholastic school and represented it with honour; finally, at Strasburg, Wimpheling, in whom ardent patriotism was joined with extensive learning, dictated the first history of Germany written by a humanist.

In short, the spread of humanism was marvellous: certain humanists, such as Willibald Pirckheimer of Nürnberg, or Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg, rivalled the most illustrious Florentines. There was a very fever of classical study.

Did the Renaissance produce more astonishing results in the land of Pico della Mirandola than in the Germany of Adam Potken, who read the Æneid

and the speeches of Cicero to pupils eleven or twelve years old, or of Johann Eck, who completed the whole course of the Latin classics between his ninth and twelfth years, or of Cuspinian, who delivered lectures at Vienna when he was eighteen years old, and was rector of the University at twenty-seven?

These early humanists, who were, I repeat, for the most part Christian, saw abuses in the Church, and desired a reform. They were not wrong, for they wanted a moderate reform, and not a rupture with Rome.

Unfortunately, a new humanism developed before the end of the fifteenth century differing much from the first both in its effects and its principles; and this humanism was the chief agent in that vast and important revolution which was soon to take place in the world of thought. This humanism was the forerunner and ally of Luther.[1]

The protagonist—more or less conscious—of this new humanism was Erasmus.[2] I say more or less conscious because, in spite of his ability, Erasmus does not seem to have realised the import of his attacks on the Church, her constitution and teaching; at least he always disclaims any wish to wage real war against her. Though a religious, he abandoned his convent and heaped sarcasm on his religious brethren; though a priest, he never said Mass and seldom assisted at it; the prayers of the breviary, fasting, abstinence, and the rules of penance, he con-

[1] See the development of this idea in vol. iii. chap. i. of Janssen. English trans.

[2] Upon Erasmus, *cf.* Feugère, *Erasmus; Etude sur sa vie et ses ouvrages.* Paris, 1879. Kerker, *Erasmus und sein theologischer Standpunkt*; in Tub. Theolog. Quartalschrifft. Tübingen, 1857.

sidered ridiculous, and ignored them.[1] He respected dogma only for form's sake. "If one wish," he wrote, "to attain that peace, that concord, which is the ideal of our religion, one must speak as little as possible of the definitions of dogma, and permit free and personal judgment to each upon many points."[2] Like certain of our contemporaries he proposes simply the revision of certain doctrines long taught by the Church. He interprets Holy Scripture in a manner that is almost rationalistic; he wishes the spiritual sense alone to be seen. Speaking of the history of Adam and Eve he says: "If you read all that having only regard for the surface, I cannot see that you do anything more useful for your soul than if you recite the history of the clay image of Prometheus, and the fire stolen from heaven to give life to the dust. Perhaps it is even more profitable to read the fables of paganism as allegories than to nourish oneself upon narratives from Holy Scripture, whilst remaining bound to the letter."[3]

That which he extols under the name of Christian philosophy is in reality the wisdom of the ancients.

The prodigious multiplicity of his accomplishments, his continuous and varied works, the copiousness of his views, the life and richness of his style, the vivacity and keenness of his wit, gave him an influence on his age which has many times been compared, with little exaggeration, to that of Voltaire on the eighteenth century.

It was he who committed humanism to absolute

[1] Lucubrationes, 18. [2] Quoted by Kerker, p. 541.

[3] See this and other analogous opinions of Erasmus in Hagen, *Deutschlands litterarische und religioese Verhæltuisse im Reformationszeitalter*, vol. i. pp. 307-318. Frankfort, 1868. *Cf.* Janssen, vol. iii. chap. i. English trans.

contempt for the Middle Ages, scholastic philosophy, and the influence of the Church. It has been said of his *Eulogy of Folly*, published first in 1509 and multiplied by seven editions in the space of a few months, that "it is the prologue of the great theological tragedy of the sixteenth century."[1]

Mutian, canon of Gotha, Crotus Rubeanus, and Eoban Hesse, the humanists of Erfürth,[2] followed him in the struggle with the scholastics; the intellectual division of Germany, which came to a head in the Reuchlin controversy, was already in preparation. Reuchlin, one of the greatest of the humanists, and one of the founders of Hebraic science, was attacked by the theologians of Cologne on account of his books *De Verbo mirifico* and *De arte cabbalistica*; the minds of all were incensed; the humanists declared themselves with fury against the scholastics, whom they covered with ridicule in the *Epistulæ virorum obscurorum*. Here, then, were allies quite ready for Luther, who published his theses in the following year (1517).[3]

It may, however, be objected: What can be common to a semi-pagan of the Renaissance and a reformer of the Church, a Protestant who does not trust to his reason, but subjects it to faith?

There is opposition, it is true—and that is why the split was not long delayed. Nevertheless there is a principle common to the Renaissance and the Reformation, namely, free investigation, and an identical method and procedure. The study of Christian an-

[1] Feugère, p. 341.

[2] Kampschulte, *Die Universitæt Erfürt in ihrem Verhæltniss zu dem Humanismus und der Reformation.* Treves, 1858-1860.

[3] L. Geiger. Johann Reuchlin, *Sein Leben und Seine Werke.* Leipzig, 1871.

tiquity is a corollary to that of Pagan antiquity.[1] On every side men traced things to their source, and inquired into original documents; they wished to know them, to read them, to comment upon them, and to interpret them freely. On all sides doctrine, as it was taught by the Catholic Church, was considered corrupt. The motto of Erasmus, *Christum ex fontibus prædicare,* became that of many enlightened minds, who, with unconscious rashness, had no scruple in breaking with tradition because that tradition appeared to them under the form of a semi-barbarous teaching which was cut off from its old and deep-fixed roots.

Therefore in Germany, England, and France there was a real alliance between the humanists and the first reformers; only, in England, and especially in France, they went much less far than in Germany at the time of Luther.

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The English Renaissance originated directly from the Italian.[2] Its first representatives, Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet, studied Greek at Florence under Chalcondyles and Angelus Politianus, and on their return to Oxford inaugurated the new teaching. With them lived Thomas More, already celebrated at twenty years of age for his Latin verses and his life of Pico della Mirandola. Erasmus, arriving from

[1] M. Buisson, in his *Sebastien Castellion,* vol. i. pp. 50-53, says with that exaggeration familiar in Protestants but in a decidedly striking manner: "Humanity has rediscovered the Gospels as it rediscovered the Iliad . . . the sacred double deposit which it has received from antiquity."

[2] Upon the English Renaissance consult: Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers.* London, 1887. C. E. Bridgett, *Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More.* London, 1891. H. Brémond, *Le bien heureux Thomas More.* Paris, 1904.

Italy, rejoined them. "When I listen to my friend Colet," he wrote after his introduction to the little coterie of Oxford, "I seem to hear Plato himself. How vast are the accomplishments of Grocyn! How deep and subtle are the opinions of Linacre! What nature is happier and more ardent than that of Thomas More!"

It was in the house of Thomas More that Erasmus, in 1509, wrote his *Praise of Folly*; it was at Cambridge that he laboured at his great work, the revised edition of the *New Testament* (printed at Basle in 1516); a critical edition intended, as he says, to give us "the true teaching of the apostles and the true likeness of Christ," too long hidden under commentaries and false readings.

The inspiration of the cenacle of Oxford was a religious inspiration. The Protestant Green in his *History of the English People*, goes so far as to write with an enthusiasm not wholly devoid of exaggeration: "The conception of a rational Christianity, not only in England, but in the Teutonic world in general, dates from John Colet's sojourn in Florence."

When Colet left Florence he was wholly indifferent to the platonic mysticism and semi-unbelief of the group of scholars who surrounded Lorenzo de Medici. If he shared their literary tastes it was but in a small degree. The study of Greek seemed to have no other end for him than to help him to penetrate more deeply into the sense of the Gospels and other New Testament writings; he hoped to find thus an adequate basis of faith; moreover, he criticised the text with great freedom. He considered the great dogmatic structure of the Middle Ages as "the unwholesome concepts of pedants"; he wished to stop short at the historical and verbal sense of the Bible, and to reject

everything that was not found therein. His faith was based simply *upon the living consciousness of the reality of the person of Christ.* According to him the life and recorded words of Christ sufficed to give us a simple and rational religion. "For the rest, let theologians quarrel as much as they like!" He, who had seen Alexander VI. and Savonarola, was filled with the idea that the Church was in need of reformation; he prayed Jesus Christ to "wash not only the feet of his Church, but her hands and her head."

Colet had faithful disciples. He also tried to reform teaching; he founded a public school near the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul of which he had been appointed Dean. The new class-books were written by himself and his friends. Many schools were modelled upon his.

At the time of the Peace of London, in 1514, which put an end to the war with France, the revival of the two great classical literatures was already making its influence felt far and wide.

Thomas More, the purest light of the Oxford coterie, was a man of deep religious instinct; but his theories, as is proved by his famous work, the *Description of the Republic of Utopia*, were chiefly upon social and political matters.

Henry VIII. was at this date a great protector of the humanists. How entirely deceived their hopes would prove to be! Colet alone died in 1519 without seeing the inauguration of the religious reformation which would give the lie to his dreams of reform. Thomas More and Fisher were its martyrs, and paid the price of their fidelity to the Catholic Church, in face of a tyrant's whims, with their lives.

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The notion that France was the eldest daughter of

the great Italian Renaissance is an illusion, dear, perhaps, to the self-esteem of my audience, but an illusion nevertheless.[1] The Renaissance appeared in France as early as the fourteenth century, but the Hundred Years War began and the Renaissance passed away. When the French were prepared to receive it in the sixteenth century it was already imminent on every hand. It reigned in Italy, whither they had sent the flower of their nobility for the last twenty years; it reigned in the Netherlands and in Germany, in those territories of the Emperor Charles which encircled the kingdom of Francis I. France went to school to her neighbours; to Germany and especially to Italy, but she did not surrender herself entirely and at once. She looked upon it as a question of education, to be derived less from great writers than from scholars and teachers. The resurrection of classical study was the first step, the reaction against scholasticism and its method of teaching was the second—a procedure evidently very similar to that of Germany and England.

As all acknowledge, the foundation of the College

[1] We cannot pretend to indicate here, even in a summary manner, all that has been written on the subject of the French Renaissance. This bibliography will be found in vol. v. of *L'Histoire de France*, published by Hachette under the direction of M. Lavisse, at the head of chap. ii. of bk. ii., of paragraph 3 of chap. i., and at the head of chap. ii. of bk. v. The following may be mentioned generally:—*L'Histoire del al angue et de la littérature française* of Petit de Julleville; *L'Histoire de la littérature française* of Brunetière; *Le XVI^e siécle en France* of Hatzfeld and Darmesteter; Fagnet, *Le XVI^e siécle* (Literary Studies). For the Fine Arts: L. Palustre, *La Renaissance en France*; L. de Laborde, *La Renaissance des arts à la cour de France*, etc. etc. The particular point of view with which we are occupied here has been much elucidated by H. Hauser's very learned article, *De l'humanisme et de la Réforme en France* 1512-1552). *Revue historique*, July to August 1897.

of France was the decisive and characteristic event of this order of ideas.[1] It was there, as has been often remarked, that the tradition of the Middle Ages was renounced, and classical antiquity triumphed; that science gradually conquered and proclaimed its independence. Had Francis I. a presentiment of this? It is certainly true that in spite of the importunity of Budé, the revivalist of Greek studies, of Etienne Poncher, Archbishop of Paris, and of his own confessor, Guillaume Petit, the "Father of Letters," hesitated for ten years before giving the desired permission. And during these ten years Lutheranism penetrated into France; at the Sorbonne Greek became suspect; in fine, the humanists themselves gave rise to doubts as to their orthodoxy. It was not until 1530 that the king established chairs of Greek and Hebrew, to which those of mathematics and Latin were soon added. Such was the beginning of the great institution. The majority of its professors were French; they belonged to the same generation, had studied under the same masters, and were united by ideas common to them all. M. Lemonnier, the historian, says: "Thus was created the *spirit* of the College of France, of which the principle was the study of the ancient languages and civilisation, of philosophy and of the sciences, liberated from every prepossession of the mind save the idea of free investigation."[2]

Between 1523 and 1543 the principal classical texts, grammars, and dictionaries appeared. In 1533 Rabelais could write without much exaggeration: "Now education is entirely restored, and the study of languages established: Greek—without knowing

[1] Abel Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France.* Paris, 1893.

[2] Lavisse's *Histoire de France,* vol. v. p. 294.

which nobody can honestly call himself a scholar—Hebrew, Chaldean, and Latin." It was already possible to notice with regret a rather excessive enthusiasm and an almost servile dependence upon the ancients.

How was the new culture spread abroad? Principally by the personal relations of scholars—Sturm, Erasmus, Melancthon, Bucer, Vivès, Budé, Rabelais, Baduel, Aléandre, Manuce, etc. Their letters, discussions, quarrels, and controversies were public, and caused the infiltration of their ideas by holding the public attention.[1]

Little literary coteries might be seen in course of formation—fewer in Italy than in Germany, for municipal life in France was in an earlier stage of development—nevertheless, they existed here and there; in Paris, of course, but also at Lyons, Nérac, and elsewhere.

Books were one of the best means of propagation; printers and booksellers were often men of letters, scholars who drew fellow-workers around them; the Estiennes are the most glorious type of these, and they are by no means exceptions.[2]

Moreover, secondary studies in France underwent a change, as in Italy, Germany, and England, until they were almost modelled upon the programme, arranged by Sturm for the College of Strasburg: Latin grammar, explanations of authors, exercises in style and in the imitation of the ancients, collections of words and expressions, translations, recitations;

[1] Ch. Schmidt, *La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm*, 1855; Gaufres, *Claude Baduel et la réforme des études au XVI^e siècle*; Paris, 1880. Jules Paquier, *Jérôme Aléandre*. Paris, 1900.

[2] It is worthy of note that the majority of these printers and booksellers also were favourable to the Reformation. *Cf.* Hauser, *article quoted above*, p. 271.

in a word, all that we have already known in our childhood—we who have been fashioned according to the old humanities. Such is the foundation which was thenceforth declared necessary for philosophy, science, and theology. "The theologian," says Baduel, "cannot genuinely expound religion; nor the lawyer, laws; nor the physician the matter of his art, unless he have been previously instructed and exercised in letters."[1]

But they did not rest satisfied with these wise opinions. A strong reaction soon began against scholasticism and the methods of the preceding age. "How is it," cries Rabelais, "that in the midst of the light that shines in our century, when, by special favour of the gods, we witness the regeneration of the most useful and precious learning, there are still people who cannot or will not turn their gaze from that Gothic and Cimmerian fog that enfolds them?"

You know how he ridiculed the doctors of the Sorbonne. Perhaps some of you are acquainted with that Master Janotus de Bragmardo whom the University of Paris sent to Gargantua to recover the bells of Notre Dame which the latter had carried off to make bridle-bells for his mare. "Having well wrangled the pros and cons, it was concluded in Baralipton that the oldest and most consequential member of the theological faculty should be sent to Gargantua to impress upon him the terrible inconvenience of the loss of these bells, and, notwithstanding the remonstrance of certain members of the University, who alleged that the undertaking was more suited to an orator than a theologian, our Master Janotus de Bragmardo was chosen to be entrusted with the matter."

[1] Quoted by Lemonnier, *loc. cit.* p. 298.

Master Janotus is then represented as arriving "with his hair cut round like fish, à la Cæsarine, in his most antic accoutrement, liripipionated with a doctor's hood: and having sufficiently antidoted his stomach with oven marmalades, and holy water of the cellar, . . . driving before him three red-muzzled beadles, and dragging after him five or six artless masters in art, all thoroughly bedraggled with mire."

And when Master Janotus had coughed prefatorily, he delivered his harangue, in which Rabelais ludicrously mimics the style of scholastic dissertations. Thus, he praises the bells for "the substantific quality of the elementary complexion which is intronificated in the terrestreity of their quidditative nature, etc." [1]

To what extent did the reaction against the method entail reaction against the ideas? In what measure did the ancient mode of thought penetrate in the classical studies? It was not till 1543 that La Ramée published his *Institutiones dialecticæ* and *Animadversiones in dialecticam Aristotelis*, which brought such violent persecution upon him, and caused him to be accused of slighting the voice of nature and truth, and even God. But, definitively, although he attacks many doctrines generally received, it is impossible to say that he intended to destroy Christianity itself. He was a humanist with inclinations towards the Protestants, among whom he died in the massacre of Saint Bartholomew.

Rabelais was an adversary of the clergy; he revised the mockery and gross invective of the poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries against priests and monks; the unworthy and base pleasantries in his fourth book, suggested to him by the descent of Pantagruel into the isle of the Papimanes make him

[1] *Gargantua*, ch. xix.

rival Luther in his pamphlets against the Pope. But he deals hardly less tenderly with the "demoniacal Calvins, the impostors of Geneva." In short, he seems to have been nothing but a deist philosopher, sceptical and irreverent towards all revealed dogma. His religion was *naturalism*.[1] Michelet calls him a "great prophet," a prophet of nature and of "profound faith"; we shall not go so far as that.

Dolet, one of the most striking types of the Renaissance, by reason of his agitated, adventurous, and blameworthy life, and his relish of the ancients, seems to have fallen into unbelief.[2] Calvin does not hesitate to say: "It is a notorious fact that Agrippa, Villanova, Dolet, and other Cyclops have always openly despised the Gospel. And with regard to the life of the soul, they have declared that it differs in nothing from that of dogs and pigs."[3]

In the four short and decisive dialogues of the *Cymbalum mundi—Tocsin of the World*, Bonaventure des Périers introduces Luther, under the transparent anagram of *Rethulus*, a sceptic, Thomas du Clenier, and a believer, Thomas Tryocan (anagrams of *incredule* and *croyant*), Jupiter, Mercury, and some pontiffs of ancient Rome. And so, by means of various masks, he tries to disguise his opinions, which, it seems, escaped the notice of the theological faculty, but are not on that account less audacious and formidable. At bottom, it aims at all religions. "Sambien," says one of his characters, "I wished you could have seen how they remove the grains of

[1] *Pantagruel*, bk. iv. chap. xxxii.

[2] Copley Christi, *Etienne Dolet, the Martyr of the Renaissance.* Upon the question of Etienne Dolet, see M. Duval-Arnauld's interesting article in the *Auinzaine*, 1st August 1898.

[3] *De scandalis.* Geneva, 1550.

sand that they find from each other's hands. One boasts that he has more than his companion; the other tells him that it is not real sand." To present Jesus Christ in the character of Mercury, and the Bible under the allegory of the philosopher's stone, to parody passages of the Gospels in the most familiar manner is, as has been remarked, "to compose a literary burlesque with sacred things," and to be the forerunner of Bayle or Voltaire by reason of a scepticism similar to theirs.[1]

Such, then, was the group of French unbelievers. It was in short a limited group that only distantly recalls that furnished by Italy.[2] But by the side of the former there came into existence another group, which we may call that of the protestantisers. The man who is looked upon as the patriarch of the French Reformation was, as everyone knows, Lefèvre d'Etaples, a professor of mathematics, who took up the study of exegesis.[3]

He exemplifies to a marvellous degree that state of mind of which I tried just now to give some indications, of that charm in a word so noble that we recognise it with admiration in certain of our contemporaries as bringing passionate lovers of profane letters to the study of religious problems and sacred literature. "I have been attached for a long time," he writes, "to the humanities, and divine studies I have hardly tasted with my lips: for they are venerable and should not be rashly approached. But

[1] Ad. Chenevière, *Bonaventure des Périers, sa vie, ses poésies.* Paris, 1886. *Cf.* Lemounier, *loc. cit.* p. 304.

[2] Hauser, *art. cit.* p. 292: "There existed, then, a sect of non-Christians so numerous that it was thought necessary to ask Calvin to write a treatise against them."

[3] Grof, *Essai sur la vie et les écrits de Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples.* Strasburg, 1842.

already, in the distance, a light so brilliant has met my gaze that humane teachings seem dark to me in comparison with divine studies, while the latter seem to exhale a perfume, the sweetness of which is equalled by nothing on earth."

In 1512 he published his *Commentaire sur les Epîtres de saint Paul*, in which he already affirms the exclusive authority of Holy Scripture and salvation by faith alone. He believes that the water of baptism is only a sign of justification and that the Mass is little more than a commemoration of a single sacrifice. His *Commentaire latin sur les Evangiles*, published in 1522, may be considered the first manifestation of the Reformation in France.

Lefèvre d'Etaples exercised an incontestable influence over many men of his generation: Budé, Vatable, Clichtoue, Gérard Roussel, Farel, Cop, and Etienne Poncher, who separated later on, some going as far as Protestantism, the others returning to Catholicism.

In 1521 Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, gathered around him Lefèvre d'Etaples and his friends, who were protected by the king and his sister Marguerite of Navarre, which latter had given an enthusiastic welcome to the efforts of Lefèvre d'Etaples and the religious opinions of Gérard Roussel. Briçonnet was a bishop after their own hearts; he caused the disciples of Lefèvre to undertake a commentary on the Gospels, and when the Sorbonne interfered with the latter, he made him his vicar-general. In his independence Briçonnet neither wished to go nor went as far as heresy. When he saw danger he knew how to draw back and remain faithful to the Church.

I have spoken of Marguerite of Navarre. She represents, and prolongs in the first part of the

sixteenth century, the humanism of the fifteenth, but she renews and revives it with philosophic and moral thought with which even her tales, and especially her poems, are imbued. She was a true daughter of the Renaissance—of the Italian Renaissance and the German—a disciple of Plato through Marsilio Ficino and Nicholas of Cusa; a learned woman, the friend of humanists and of even the boldest thinkers, she was nevertheless rather a reflection than a leader of the intellectual movement of her time.[1]

Was she really a Protestant? No. She had experienced the influence of Luther and Calvin. She shrank from certain Catholic tendencies. In the comedy that she caused to be played at Mont-de-Marsan in 1547, she united in the character of the *Superstitieuse* everything of the strongest sort that could be written against the practices of Catholic worship. She decried the worship of the Virgin, as may be seen in the *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*. She extols justification by faith at the expense of works. She was in sympathy with the reformed, therefore she took their part when they were persecuted. But all that was due only to a state of tendencies—even rather vague tendencies; she died a Catholic.

These humanist reformers were for the most part peaceful;[2] they desired a certain renewing, a certain regeneration of the Church, but they had no intention of breaking with her.

[1] Abel Lefranc, *Les idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre, d'après son œuvre poétique*. Paris, 1898. *Cf.* Lemounier, *op. cit.* I. v. chap. i.

[2] M. Bouisson and M. Hauser treat them freely as timorous and self-interested; M. Hauser recognises that the question of doctrine in many instances was a mere pose.

Their case was similar to that of the best among the German and English humanists.

Such was the Renaissance in Germany, England, and France, that is to say, in the countries which, with Italy, opened up the path to the new civilisation. It was much less far-reaching, much less immoral, and much less pagan, and consequently much more easily reconciled with Christianity than in Italy. One can understand how it might seduce not only worldly prelates and a few sceptics, but even bishops who were truly devoted to their spiritual mission. We are already enabled to catch a glimpse of the Christian solution of the intellectual and moral problem that was proposed at the dawn of the sixteenth century—a solution for which the state of Italy, as you will acknowledge, hardly allowed us to hope; a solution which France, after much groping, was to have the happiness and honour of finding.

III

Why, and to what extent, did the Papacy, and often the Episcopate, favour the movement of the Renaissance?[1]

THERE is no doubt that humanism in Italy led to the rise of a semi-paganism, immoral and rationalistic, and that in other countries it certainly favoured the beginnings of Protestant heresy.

This is established not only by history; contemporary persons are themselves conscious of it, as I set myself to show in the two preceding lectures. "Can you deny," writes Prince Alberto de Carpi to Erasmus, "that in your country—as has long been the case in Italy—whenever the pretended belles-lettres are studied with exclusive ardour and the old philosophical and theological systems are despised, a sad confusion arises between the truths of Christianity and the maxims of paganism? This regrettable disorder spreads everywhere; the spirit of discord is master of minds, and morals no longer agree in any wise with the moral precepts of Christianity."[2]

Erasmus himself wrote to Fabricius Capito on the 26th February 1516: "One scruple alone restrains my mind: that paganism seeks to rise again under

[1] The bibliography is the same as that of Chapter I. One may add: Goyau, Pératé and Fabre, *Le Vatican.* Paris, 1895. Muntz, *Les arts à la cour des Popes pendant le XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles.* Paris, 1878-1879. 2 vols. Rio, *De l'Art chrétien.* Paris, 1867. 4 vols.

[2] *Lucubrationes,* p. 72. See Janssen, *History of the German People,* vol. iii. end of chap. i. Eng. trans. Kegan Paul.

cover of classical literature: there are Christians who recognise Jesus Christ only outwardly, and live in an inward atmosphere of heathenism."[1]

Moreover, many statesmen were of the same opinion. Thus the Constable de Montmorency, according to Regnier de la Planche in his *State of France* under Francis II., "was of opinion that literature had engendered heresy and increased the number of Lutherans who were in the kingdom, wherefore he held scholars and their books in small esteem."[2]

Now, the popes in Rome and many high dignitaries of the Church in the various states of Christendom afforded protection to humanism and the Renaissance in general. They were therefore, though possibly unconsciously, and without foreseeing the trend of their attitude, the actual accomplices of a movement which, in part at least, came into opposition with the Church, her system of morals, and her teaching. This is the opinion of certain excellent Catholics.

In the sixteenth century, Prince Alberto de Carpi wrote: "Ecclesiastical and secular princes are now reaping the fruits of that seed they sowed broadcast or at least protected in its growth. The poets (humanists) have done most to excite the German revolt against the Church and society. They have encouraged all those violations of equity which we witness every day. But who supported them? *The dignitaries of the Church*, even those of the highest rank. They entertained at their voluptuous courts these people of semi-pagan leanings, who cast scorn on all that remained dear to the people, and had no aim but to demolish the whole present order of things."[3]

[1] Erasmus, *Opera*, vol. iii. *ep.* 207, p. 189.
[2] Regnier de la Planche, vol. ii. p. 170.
[3] *Lucubrationes*, p. 49.

The Prince of Carpi might have added, says Janssen, that "the poisonous brood of poets had found encouragement and protection at Rome long before Germany welcomed them, and that the Renaissance had wielded its seductive rule in Italy long before it received any countenance in Germany."

To what extent is this accusation well founded? Or in other words: In what measure did the popes and the high dignitaries of the Church bestow favour upon humanism and the Renaissance? Did they overstep, even accidentally, the limits imposed upon them by Christian prudence? What conclusions are we to draw from their attitude, and on what grounds are we to explain it? Such are the questions I undertake to answer to-day.

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The popes' protection of humanism is a fact so well known that it hardly needs demonstration.

Humanism penetrated the Roman Curia when the great Western schism was at its height, that is to say, in the most troubled period of Church history.

Innocent VII., by a bull of 1406, undertakes to restore the Roman University founded by Boniface VIII. "There is not on earth," says this bull, "a more eminent and illustrious city than Rome, nor one in which the studies we desire to restore have longer flourished, for here was Latin literature founded; here civil law was committed to writing and delivered to the nations; here also is the seat of canon law. Every kind of wisdom and learning took birth in Rome, or was received in Rome from the Greeks. While other cities teach foreign sciences, Rome teaches only that which is her own."[1]

[1] Pastor, *History of the Popes* (English trans. published by Messrs Kegan Paul), vol. i. p. 166. *Cf.* Denifle Universitæten, vol. i. p. 312.

The same pope filled his court with humanists. He found Poggio there, and he placed there Leonardo Bruni (Leonardo Aretino, a Christian who must not be confounded with Pietro Aretino), and Pietro-Paolo Vergerio, who was charged with the delivery of a sermon on the unity of the Church before the cardinals assembled in conclave for the election of Gregory XII., and took advantage of the occasion to tell them some hard truths to their faces.

Among other new humanists introduced by Gregory XII. was Antonio Loschi of Florence, who substituted the Ciceronian for the old style in the pontifical letters.

Martin V., who was elected by the Council of Constance, kept personally aloof from the humanist movement. The representatives of the literary Renaissance at his court obtained nevertheless greater influence, the increase of which was due to the immense impulse given to the movement by the Council. Voigt, the Protestant historian of humanism, writes: "The Council of Constance gave great impetus to knowledge in various countries, and to the study of manuscripts; a new proof of the influence of those great ecclesiastical sessions towards the mutual understanding of the nations, an influence that cannot be over-estimated. Until the two great reforming Councils of Constance and Basle humanism had been exclusively Italian, but there it gained the notice of the world, and began to cast rays, sometimes thin and feeble enough, upon the ultramontane people."[1]

A long list of humanists could already be drawn up of pontifical secretaries present at Constance: Manuel

[1] Voigt, *Wiederbebelung des classischen Alterthums*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 236.

Chrysoloras, a Greek scholar who died during the session, Leonardo Bruni, Poggio, Vergerio, and others, when they were tired of theological discussions in which they took little pleasure, they went from one monastery to another seeking for Latin manuscripts, and made precious discoveries which aroused the immense joy of their contemporaries.[1]

Eugenius IV., like Martin V., took no actual part in the movement of the Renaissance, but being obliged to leave Rome, he made in Florence, then the greatest centre of intellectual and artistic activity, a long sojourn not devoid of consequences. He introduced among the apostolical secretaries Flavio Biondo (Blondus), who, in virtue of his historical and descriptive study of the city of Rome (*Roma instaurata*), was the true founder of the science of archæology. Biondo, as a moral and Christian humanist, was as much interested in Christian as in Pagan Rome. (Poggio, on the contrary, in his *Peregrinations in Rome* passes in systematic silence all that might recall Christian Rome.) The thought of the holy treasures preserved in the Eternal City consoled him for those ruins which met his gaze at every step.

The Sacred College was gradually filled with humanists, among whom shone Orsini, Albergati, Cesarini, Prospero Colonna, Capranica, and Landriani. The last two had admirable libraries the manuscripts of which they liberally placed at the disposal of students. We mention particularly the famous Greek cardinal, Bessarion, a zealous book collector, a conscientious writer, and the friend and protector of men of letters. His palace became a meeting-place of all the most distinguished Greek and Italian scholars, who formed a sort of academy around him.

[1] Pastor, vol. i. p. 257. English trans. as cited.

He sought out Greek manuscripts in order to save the intellectual works of his native land from the wreck of the oriental world; he gave these manuscripts to the city of Venice four years before his death. The time was at hand when the pontifical throne itself would be occupied by a humanist. It came in the middle of the fifteenth century, at the death of Eugenius IV.

In Tomaso Parentucelli—Nicholas V.—humanism took possession of the see of St Peter.[1] The election was received by the humanists with the greatest enthusiasm. When the Curia was at Florence, Tomaso Parentucelli had lived in the midst of them, and had found nothing finer than the splendour surrounding art and science in that city; he thought it unworthy that men of letters and artists should be left in want, and he often said that if he became rich, he would devote all his possessions to books and monuments of art. It is even related that although he was a monk, he did not wait for fortune to satisfy his passion, but got into debt that he might obtain precious manuscripts![2] He himself was not a writer; he was gifted with a great memory and very wide intelligence; he was an ardent collector, an amateur interested in all things. Such a man was a born protector of men of letters; he induced as many as possible to come to Rome, especially Florentines.

Voigt says of him "that he was to Rome what Cosmo de Medici was to Florence."

His first claim to the title of humanist is to have caused the translation into Latin of whole or part of the works of Homer, Strabo, Herodotus, Thucydides,

[1] See Guirand, *L'Eglise et les Origines de la Renaissance*, chap. viii.; *Nicolas V. et les Arts*, chap. ix.; *Nicolas V. et l'Humanisme.*

[2] Burckhardt, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 232.

Xenophon, Diodorus, Aristotle, and Plato. The second, which is still stronger, is to have willed that the Vatican should provide definite shelter for the admirable monuments of Greek and Latin genius and to have founded the *Vatican Library* for that purpose.[1] He displayed unequalled ardour in the formation of the precious collection the plan of which he had conceived; he sent agents into Italy and the whole of Europe, and after the capture of Constantinople into the Orient, to collect manuscripts, or to copy those they could not obtain. Thus in a comparatively short time he formed a library, unique of its sort, which he wished to be public and accessible to all scholars. The exact number of manuscripts collected by Nicholas V. is unknown; most authors, on the authority of Manetti and Vespasiano da Bisticci, gave five thousand, but this estimate seems to be greatly exaggerated. Muntz gives 824 for the Latin manuscripts, and Pastor 807; the number of Greek manuscripts is unknown. Nevertheless, even these last figures are high for the middle of the fifteenth century (1447-1453).

It was the great happiness of Nicholas V. to live in the midst of his books.

On the whole, despite certain imprudences which we cannot overlook, Nicholas V. remains one of the purest figures of the Renaissance. Although he sets great store by the profane authors, he gives a higher place not only to Scripture, but also to the Fathers; he sends a complete copy of the works of Tertullian from Germany to Florence, brings back a copy of Saint Leo the Great's sermons and Saint Thomas's

[1] Muntz and Fabre, *La bibliothèque du Vatican an XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1887, and in the volume entitled *The Vatican*, study of P. Fabre on the Vatican Library.

commentary on the Gospel of Saint Matthew; and his favourite author is Saint Augustine. Finally and above all, he is prompted by Christian charity to protect artists and scholars.

His ambition was, as witness his last words to his cardinals—amplified, doubtless, by his biographer[1]—that Rome, the centre of religion, should become also that of letters and the arts. He was persuaded that the faith of the nations needed reawakening and sustaining by the immense glory of Rome. An idea that is not without danger, but is certainly right in a sense.

With Nicholas V. the first era of humanism and the Renaissance came to a close.

Had the popes, so far, crossed the bounds set for them by Christian sentiment and the true interests of the Church? We must not fear to admit that this was, in a small degree, the case.

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Since the beginning, esteem of the literary worth of the humanists preponderated too much over the consideration of their moral worth. Under Boniface IX., that is, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, Poggio was enrolled among the apostolical secretaries, and he retained this lucrative post under eight popes, and so held it for half-a-century. And we have seen the sort of man he was in respect of morals and religion.[2]

During the Council of Constance, Poggio and several of his friends formed a society which met every evening to hold scandalous and obscene discourse and to shower mockery upon the clergy.

[1] Manetti, *Vita Nicolai V.*, in *Muratori, Script. rer. Italic*, vol. iii. 2nd part, p. 947.

[2] Pastor, vol. i. p. 167. English trans.

This society met in the very palace of the Pope whom they spared less than all the others.[1]

Eugenius IV. was personally strict. Nevertheless, he introduced into the Roman court a number of humanists whose conduct and opinions were more than suspicious—such as Marsuppini, who rejected the succour of religion on his death-bed. At least Eugenius IV. energetically refused to allow Lorenzo Valla, the author of the treatise *De Voluptate*, to re-enter Rome, and he forbade the reading of Beccadelli's infamous book under pain of excommunication.

But his successor, Nicholas V., had not the same scruples: he surrounded himself with the most pagan humanists, and gave to them without measure. Among these were Poggio, Filelfo, Marsuppini, and Valla himself, whom he made notary apostolic, and charged with the translation of Thucydides into Latin.

The best among the cardinals did not scruple to contract the most intimate relations with them, even with Beccadelli, but the humanists were held in such general favour that public opinion was not offended.

Certain religious Orders, however, began to raise their voices against this state of things. The conspiracy of Stephano Porcaro, which was inspired by the ideas and recollection of the institutions of antiquity, showed Nicholas V. himself that the danger was not as imaginary as he liked to think.

We need not be surprised that a reaction took place less than fifteen years after his death.

It began with the pontificate of Calixtus III., upon whom the humanists, who were not to be consoled for the death of Nicholas V., uttered the most extravagant judgments. One of them went so far as to

[1] Voigt, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 15, 416.

say that "Calixtus III. figures uselessly in the list of popes."[1] The necessities of the crusade against the Turks, who had just captured Constantinople, sufficiently justified Calixtus III. in not lavishing the revenues of the Roman Church upon the humanists, and even in melting down the gold and silver of certain precious bindings.

The proof that Calixtus III. did not act wrongly was the attitude of his successor, Pius II.—that very Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini who had personified in himself the different tendencies of the Renaissance! At his election the humanists thought they saw the inauguration of an era of unlimited bliss.[2] Yet he did not do much more for them than Calixtus III., although he had certain translations finished which had been begun by Nicholas V., introduced a few humanists into the college of abbreviators, brought certain scholars to Rome, and protected certain poets. It was not only the difficulties of the pontifical finance, together with the dominating interest of the crusade, that determined his line of conduct. It was due also to his presentiment, born of intimate knowledge of the dangers of the false Renaissance. Morally depraved writers he banished pitilessly, and kept his sympathy for those who retained the Christian spirit. This converted humanist went nobly to his death at Ancona, ready to lead in person the Christians against the Turks.

Under Paul II. the struggle came to a crisis. This was due to the fact that the Renaissance became absolutely pagan. Christian ideas, which had till

[1] L. Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus*, p. 139, and Pastor, vol. ii. p. 330. English trans. See the letter of Filelfo to Bessarion, *Philelphi Epist.* p. 102.

[2] Pastor, vol. iii. p. 25. English trans.

then co-existed along with others, seemed to be for the most part eliminated from the humanist mind. Calixtus III. and Pius II. had felt the danger, but it was still difficult to take measures against it. An opportunity of acting was given to Paul II. by the following incident.[1] At the beginning of his reign this pope wished to reorganise the college of abbreviators; he suppressed a number of offices which Pius II. had given to his protégés as a means of livelihood. Indignation could go no further among the victims of this measure. One of them, known as Platina, wrote a pamphlet in the form of a letter to the Pope, in which he said: "At the moment that without a hearing you allowed yourself to despoil us of offices bought by us with honourable intent, it became allowable for us to complain of our unmerited disgrace. Your refusal to hear us subjects us to humiliation and ignominy; we shall appeal to kings and princes, and ask them to convoke a council before which you will be obliged to justify your conduct and say why you have robbed us of lawfully acquired property." The letter concluded with these words: "Your Holiness' servants, if the measure is repealed."[2]

Paul II. did not treat the matter as a joke. Platina was arrested and tortured; the Pope spoke of having him beheaded. At least he was shut up in a cold dungeon, and on his release after four months he was too weak to stand upright. They all chafed in silence and awaited an opportunity for vengeance.

The malcontents and the paganising humanists met together at the house of one their number, Pomponius

[1] See Pastor upon this matter, vol. iv. chap. ii. p. 36. English trans.

[2] Platina, *Opus de vitis ac gestis summorum Pontificum ad Sixtum*, iv. etc. etc. 1645, p. 767.

Lætus, a scholar famed in Rome for his talents and eccentricity. No scholar had ever impregnated his life and thought with such a degree of paganism. He despised the Christian religion, and launched out into violent orations against its ministers.

The reunions held at his house led to the formation of a literary society, the "*Roman Academy*," the object of which was the propagation of pure latinity. Those who became members adopted ancient names; they looked upon themselves as a college of priests of antiquity, having at their head a *Pontifex Maximus*, a dignity given to Pomponius Lætus. They celebrated certain pagan feasts, and some abandoned themselves to the most repulsive vices, which were but too highly honoured among the ancients. Finally, they were republicans.

At the end of February 1468 the rumour of a plot spread through Rome; four members of the Roman Academy were denounced to the Pope as ringleaders of the conspiracy; three succeeded in escaping, but the wretched Platina was taken and imprisoned in the castle of Saint Angelo together with certain persons connected with the Academy.

The Pope was by no means uncertain as to his attitude towards the anti-christian opinions and immoral practices of these people, and the explanation he gave to the ambassadors of the Italian powers was much to the purpose: he described the conspirators as heretics. The plot itself was much less clear, and as we have no documents of the trial, but only the narrative of Platina, we cannot judge of it with any certainty, especially as Platina tells many falsehoods, particularly about his own part, which he describes as heroic instead of merely pitiable.

Pomponius Lætus, whose extradition the Pope

had demanded and obtained from Venice, was imprisoned in the castle of Saint Angelo; he also forgot his stoical pose in the dungeon, and ended by yielding to Paul II.[1]; Platina remained longer in prison.

Paul II. did not confine himself to a few individual prosecutions: he took measures to restrain the study of antiquity, especially of poets and historians. The Roman Academy was dissolved.

In time the humanists were revenged upon the Pope. Platina especially gratified his resentment after the death of Paul II. in his *Lives of the Popes*. He pictured him as a barbarian bitterly opposed to all learning. That is false; Paul II. was certainly no humanist of the type of Nicholas V., but he protected many scholars and assisted the introduction and spread of printing in Italy with all his power.

But the efforts of Paul II. could have no very great result; the evil was undoubtedly too deep-rooted.

His successor, Sixtus IV. (1471), returned to the traditions of Nicholas V. The Pope reorganised the Vatican Library, and prosecuted the search for manuscripts with such immense enthusiasm that more than a thousand were acquired within ten years; and whom did he make chief of the library? Platina himself! He brought as many humanists as possible to Rome; he wished to induce the prince of Platonic philosophers, Marsilio Ficino, to come; but the latter owed so much to the Medicis that he could not make up his mind to leave them.

Sixtus IV. reopened the Roman Academy. He let Pomponius Lætus take up his lessons thenceforth without the least hindrance to his teaching. Finally,

[1] *Defensio Pomponii Læti in carceribus et confessio*, MSS. of the Vatican Library, quoted by Pastor, vol. xii. English trans.

he charged Platina with the writing of his *History of the Popes*, the dedication of which he accepted. Platina did not content himself with a violent attack upon Paul II.; he introduced his criticisms upon the religious situation of his own time into his biographies of popes of other epochs. At the service of the anniversary of Platina's death, held in Saint Mary Major, Pomponius Lætus (after Mass) ascended the pulpit and delivered the funeral oration of his friend; then, from the same pulpit, a poet read an elegy on the death of Platina. This was indeed the revenge and triumph of humanism.[1]

With Sixtus IV. we enter that series of political popes with leanings towards humanism. They were, alas, worldly, and sometimes worse. This was the era of Alexander VI. and Julius II. There was no likelihood of their repressing the excesses of humanism. It has been said that "the fifteenth century knew the writings of the dearly loved antiquity better than its works of art; but in the first years of the new century the works of art, one after another, emerged from the soil of Rome, where their pure beauty had been preserved in the depths of sleep for the eyes of enthusiastic worshippers."[2]

Coming to Leo X. we reach the culminating point. In the permission given for the printing of Tacitus, which has just been discovered, the Pope writes enthusiastically that "great authors are the rule of life and the consolation of sorrow, that the protection of scholars and the acquisition of excellent books always seemed to him one of the noblest duties, and that he thanked heaven for allowing him to serve humanity by assisting the publication of this book."

[1] Pastor, vol. iv. p. 420. English trans.
[2] *Le Vatican* of M. Pératé, p. 581.

He was surrounded, indeed besieged, by poets. They followed him wherever he went, in church, in the palace, in the theatre, even into his private apartments. Those who did not succeed in accosting him tried at least to interest him in their favour by petitions in which every deity of Olympus had a place. Leo X. lavished money upon them. You know the story of the purple velvet purse, containing rouleaux of gold of different sizes, from which he took at random. But the improvisers in Latin who enlivened his reports received blows from a whip when they made verses too haltingly.

It has been often said that the neo-paganism of the Renaissance under Leo X. reached to the sovereign pontiff himself, and that this Pope was a Christian neither in morals nor doctrine. That is not true. Leo X. was of unimpeachable morality; there are no grounds for asserting that he lacked faith, and he gave certain proofs of piety. Nevertheless, it is true that although he was intended for the Church from childhood, and was overloaded with benefices, he had neither the habits nor the inclinations of an ecclesiastic. We are astonished and troubled by the account of certain feasts and certain comedies played in his presence, as well as by the coarseness of some of his amusements. The incomparable splendour which Rome at that time owed to him cannot make us forget them.

Six years after the death of Leo X. hardly any of this splendour remained. The bands of the German Frondsberg and of the French traitor, the Constable de Bourbon, had passed over Rome like a fearful whirlwind; the humanists were scattered; and Rome, after the ordeal, was going to be restored entirely to her religious *rôle*.

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The spectacle afforded us by Rome, with the character of grandeur and universality peculiar to it, may be seen in miniature at many episcopal courts. It would indeed be interesting to study this if we might enter into such details. Let us confine ourselves to a few examples.

The inaugurator of the movement of the Renaissance in Germany was a cardinal, the learned Nicholas of Cusa. He learnt to love the classical authors in his youth at the school of the *Brothers of the Common Life*, at Deventer; he had acquired knowledge of the Greek language in Italy; close acquaintance with Plato and Aristotle had changed what was at first only a marked liking, to an enthusiasm "at ease only when it could communicate itself to the greatest possible number of people." He strove with indefatigable zeal to restore to honour the study of those philosophers whom he considered especially well adapted to the formation of minds.[1]

Let us remark next Johann von Dahlberg, Bishop of Worms, who became, at Worms and at Heidelberg, the centre of men of letters, founded a chair of Greek, and collected a library of the classics.

Then there is Leo X.'s contemporary and emulator, Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz (Mayence), a prince full of vanity, who thought to make his palace the haunt of humanists and famous poets and to become the Medici of Germany. "What scholar is there among us whom Albrecht does not know?" wrote Ulrich von Hutten; "what learned and cultured man has ever praised him without receiving at once a proof of his generosity, and without being honoured with his patronage?" He employed the chief artists

[1] Much has been written on Nicholas of Cusa. *Cf.* Janssen, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 3. English trans.

of his time, and rewarded them in a princely style. He collected the most celebrated musicians from all parts, gave splendid entertainments, and made a dazzling display of pomp. But the religious convictions of this archbishop had little depth; his moral conduct was not worthy of respect; he looked upon the word scholastic as synonymous with barbarity, and was enraptured with the "divine genius" of Erasmus, who, as he said, had restored to theology its ancient brightness, dimmed for so many centuries: he assured him of his protection. And Erasmus, writing to Hutten, called the archbishop "the finest ornament of Germany in the present century."[1]

In England there was the primate himself, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom his correspondent Erasmus has drawn such an attractive picture. His purse was always open to men of letters, especially Erasmus, to whom he paid an annual pension of a thousand crowns. He approved and encouraged him in his exegetical works, which he recommended highly and passed on from *bishop to bishop*. He protected Colet in like manner, and defended him against the accusation of heresy which was brought against him. Langton, Bishop of Winchester, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, followed in Warham's footsteps: they sent the most distinguished of their young clerics to study in Italy.

Finally, in the midst of his innumerable political occupations, Cardinal Wolsey founded Cardinal College at Oxford—now Christ Church. He invited the most illustrious scholars of Europe to teach in it,

[1] Upon Albrecht of Mainz and his court, *cf.* Hennes, *Albrecht von Brandenbourg*, Mentz, 1858, and Janssen, *op. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 65-69. English trans.

and set himself to get copies of the Vatican manuscripts for the library.

In France there was the Bishop of Paris, Etienne Poncher, who in 1513 took as secretary the famous humanist and future cardinal, Jérôme Aléandre; it was he who induced Francis I. to found the College of France.

Later on there was Cardinal Charles de Lorraine, who founded the University of Rheims, where Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Chaldaic were taught as at Paris. He was the protector of la Ramée, and Etienne Pasquier did not fear to say of him "that he was the only support in his time of letters and teaching."[1]

Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, in his zeal for the protection of humanism, covered with his authority the first humanists who leaned towards Protestantism.

Another Bishop of Paris, Jean du Bellay, was so attracted by the Renaissance, that he called Rabelais's book "a new gospel, and pre-eminently *the* book."

Such are the facts, and before I answer the objection suggested by them, allow me to remark that they answer with singular eloquence those who look upon the Church as the born enemy of learning.

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What conclusions can be drawn from this account?

Let us first set aside the episcopates of the various Christian nations. There was indeed a certain amount of individual excess and imprudence, but on the whole humanism was not anti-christian enough, nor sufficiently widespread among the masses to imply grave error of judgment and conduct in the protection of it. And if humanism actually covered the first steps of the Protestant Reformation, it did so in virtue of circumstances which were independent

[1] Quoted by Guillemin, *Le Cardinal de Lorraine*, p. 451.

of the humanists and their protectors. A good humanism was possible, and indeed existed, which sought only just and moderate reforms in religion. The biographer of Cardinal Charles de Lorraine recognises this in excellent terms :

"France did not ask better than to turn the intellectual movement to the advantage of learning and civilisation, but it wished to attain this end without going by way of heretical reform and without breaking with its past. It wished to leave the narrow beaten track to which the Sorbonne confined it without falling headlong into the temerities of the Calvinistic school. The help of the temporal power was needed for the maintenance of France in this wise and fearless course of reasonable liberty. A great and lofty mind was necessary to reconcile the authority to the idea of new needs, and to open the way to all lawful reforms under the protection of the king. This was the part played by Charles de Lorraine"[1]—and by many of his brothers of the hierarchy.

The case of the popes is more serious and more difficult to solve, first because the popes were responsible for the teaching and government of the whole Church, secondly because Italian humanism became, as we have seen, quite opposed to the spirit of Christianity.

The historian's first duty is to distinguish periods and to avoid confusing different epochs. In the first half of the fifteenth century, from Innocent VII. to Nicholas V., humanism had as yet borne no fruits ; there was merely a revival of letters. Though certain individuals were from the beginning of almost pagan morals and intellectual leanings, there were, on the

[1] Guillemin, *Le Cardinal de Lorraine*, p. 451.

other hand, many Christian humanists, therefore humanism in itself cannot be blamed for the utter demoralisation of certain of its followers. The popes of this epoch can be reproached only with having shown undue indulgence towards men who, outside their literary talent, deserved no esteem. Assuredly, they would have done better if they had been more scrupulous.

We must remember that these popes did not consider themselves confronted by a formal heresy, but simply by isolated individual divergences of doctrine which might often have been mistaken for pure literary style or mannerism of expression.[1] These humanists often affected to be submissive sons of the Church. In many instances such an affirmation was nothing but hypocrisy, in others there was actually a most singular confusion of opposite ideas and sentiments. In short, the danger was not evident.

When it became so, at the end of the pontificate of Nicholas V., the evil had been accomplished insensibly, gradually, little by little; the lettered and ruling classes were, indeed, half pagan. Then the papacy made a serious reactionary effort: Calixtus III., Pius II., and especially Paul II. did their whole duty as guardians of morals and doctrine.

But this first attempt miscarried; on the one hand, the evil was too deep to be checked thus, and on the other the Papacy was swept along by the political interests in which it was absorbed, and almost ceased to struggle; moreover, it was itself seduced to some extent by Sixtus IV. and Leo X. But even then

[1] Voigt says with reason: "Was it necessary to make an outcry because an orator in the heat of the discourse had let slip some form of solemn affirmation that had been in use among the Romans? etc." *Wiederbebelung*, etc., vol. ii. p. 479.

the pontiffs, though blameworthy by reason of the examples they set, did not fail in their doctrinal mission.

Sixtus IV. was more anxious to enrich the Vatican Library with religious works than with classical authors.

It was Leo X., the Pope who was, as it were, the incarnation of the Renaissance, who at the Lateran Council in 1513 energetically condemned all the false teaching that had crept into men's mind's concerning the soul, its nature and immortality. It was he who in the same council recommended all masters of philosophy to fight these errors without respite, to refute the objections of the incredulous, and to show the truth of Christian doctrine on this important subject. In this way he proclaimed at once the evil that had been done and the will to remedy it.

After the sack of Rome in 1527, the dispersion of the humanists, and the death of Clement VII., the Papacy did not cease taking the most energetic measures to safeguard faith and morals: this led to its being heaped with accusations of intolerance, for in the eyes of certain people the Papacy is always at fault, do what it may.

Moreover, if the Catholic Church exhibited greater energy against the Reformation than against the Renaissance, it was not only on account of the times and the experience she had acquired, but because it was easier to oppose an absolute denial of Christianity than another form of it. Complete Christianity was easily opposed against this complete denial of it; but what weapon was adequate for the struggle if Christianity itself were allowed to vary? Primitive Protestantism was at open enmity with the laws of nature and reason and therefore lacked purchase

against the rationalistic naturalism of the Renaissance. From the moment the Reformation allied itself with the Renaissance, or allowed the latter to enter its ranks, it was virtually conquered; and this is what has happened in the end.

This was the exact part played by the popes towards humanism at the different epochs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Can it be said that their responsibility for the demoralisation and unchristianising of Italy was proportionate to the measure in which they protected humanism? Hardly; for, as I have shown, the influence of antiquity was neither the only nor the principal agent in this demoralisation and unchristianising. It was social disorder, tyranny on the one hand and anarchy on the other that did most harm. The Italians despised laws because their sovereigns, whatever their titles, were not legitimate; they respected nothing because hardly anything they saw was worthy of respect; they believed only in cunning and force because they saw during nearly a century that force and cunning alone gained a reward.

Now the Papacy was not responsible for that deplorable state of things; without doubt, it failed in Italy, but it was not the Papacy's fault that Philippe le Bel violated Boniface VIII., and let loose the ultramontane enemies of the Papacy, or that tyrants and partisans obliged the popes to seek refuge at Avignon.

The excessive development of personality, the lengths to which the cult of individuality was carried, was also an evil, social as well as personal: the life of society is especially dependent upon association, or the exercise of the social virtues, which may be summed up in the one word sacrifice. In the same

way, the individual, if he does not want to be an unrestrained and dangerous egoist, must practise moderation and restraint, or, to sum up again in one word, self-sacrifice.

It was by making their lives a continual protest against excess of individualism that the Jesuits of the sixteenth century contributed so strongly to the restoration of Catholic society. But the popes were no more responsible for that excess of individualism than for the social and political condition to which it was due.

And now let us ask ourselves if the limited responsibility they incurred in the protection of humanism was not largely outweighed by the consequent advantages to the Church.

I will not say that they should have stood well with the humanists on account of the latter's power and their strong influence upon public opinion. That would have been rather worldly: an authority in the moral order does better to defy its dangerous enemies than to flatter them.

But, I ask you, is there not a certain grandeur in the solicitude of the popes for what they considered, with their contemporaries, the progress of science, of letters, of civilisation itself, in such exceedingly difficult times as those of the great western schism, of the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle?

Did not the popes look upon the culture of their times with imposing confidence? Nicholas V., for example, was calmly confident as to the lot of the Church because multitudes of learned men lent her their aid.[1] Was he so far wrong when he said that

[1] This consideration strikes Burckhardt himself as remarkable, despite his hostility to the Papacy. Vol. i. p. 274. *Cf.* Pastor, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 56. Eng. trans.

although the Church possessed within herself sufficient title to require respect and obedience, yet it was necessary that men should see her shine with a certain external glory especially with that given by art and learning?

Is it nothing that Rome was at the beginning of the sixteenth century for twenty years "the mistress of the world, not merely as in the time of the emperors, by the brutal force of arms, but by the power and conquering beauty of art"?[1]

What would have been said, what would be said to-day, if the Church had adopted a different attitude, and had pitilessly branded and censured this intellectual movement, this renewal of literature and art? How she would be denounced as the enemy of civilisation and the progress of intellect! We know these declamations, and we hear them each time she tries to hinder, not progression, but digression on the part of human intellect.

We shall not reproach the Papacy with the attitude she assumed towards the Renaissance. Essentially, it is that of the Church herself, at least, that she assumes definitely towards all great and lawful movements of human intellect; sometimes, without doubt, she challenges them at their birth, but she does not bind herself to frown upon them: she assimilates what is good and compatible with her teaching; and is not this procedure the reason why her doctrine, though always the same at bottom, develops branches and multiplies its aspects like a tree which draws sap from the earth?

It is the same with intellectual changes as with political and social; they are inevitable, and they cannot, alas, be achieved without temporary excesses.

[1] *Le Vatican*, Pératé, p. 529.

This is a law of our humanity, which is at once progressive and fallible. The Church knows it: she is always there with her principles and dogmas, sometimes frowning and sometimes smiling at the efforts she sees, ready to gather, once the storm is past, all the good grain the wind has sown and to obtain good fruit therefrom.

During the reading of these lectures, a thousand comparisons must have been made between the intellectual condition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and that of our contemporaries, the same questions have been raised, and sometimes the same solutions proposed. The Catholic Church, already threatened by the same enemies, has already run the same risks.

What an encouragement for the great number of distinguished men who are to-day intent upon the problem of uniting progress, science, and faith, to have those enlightened popes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for their models and guarantees! They evidently thought the union was possible; and they believed that, in spite of present and certain dangers, it was not right to oppose—if its furtherance was of moment—a lawful intellectual movement towards an object excellent in itself, namely, progress in knowledge and in attainment of the true and the beautiful. The modern mind is directed by an invincible force to the study of men and things; it looks upon it as its most noble mission. When and how will this study lead the mind back to God? This is the secret of time and of Providence itself. But we may dare expect that it will be led back, and many indications already strengthen our hope.

The Middle Ages found a solution in accord with

the state of their knowledge, and Saint Thomas Aquinas gave sublime expression to it.

This solution, though entirely adequate on the points it had established, was no longer satisfactory in the fifteenth century in face of so many scientific discoveries and such profound changes in the political and social order.

The Renaissance, therefore, set itself to find a more complete solution; it did not give it to the Italians, because they were too far demoralised, and had lost the Christian spirit; it gave it neither to the Germans nor to the English, because in their case it was associated with a religious revolt which freed them from the principle of authority—a necessary safeguard of the intellect which is always prone to go astray. It was France which in the seventeenth century found out how to blend the Christian and the ancient spirits in all harmony; from this union was born the modern spirit in so far as it is good.

But the great questions have again changed their form; it is said that answers have been found to the answers supplied by the seventeenth century; moreover, they have been multiplied by the progress in discovery, science, and criticism, and hitherto unset problems must be solved. The Christian idea is menaced anew in the name of independent reason, of nature, and of a better understanding of history. Need we then lose courage and give up all for lost, or enclose ourselves without more care for others in the ivory tower of our personal faith? No; it belongs to the Christian scholars of to-day to discover and set forth the necessary solutions under the kindly and unfeared supervision of the government of the Church and to make another blending of scientific, philosophical, moral, and religious truths. Let us



not fear for Christianity! We know from the experience of the past that great causes do not perish so long as someone stands up for their defence; and we have among us, thank God, many men of science who are also men of faith.

IV

The birth of Protestantism in Germany—Why and how several European nations became Protestant[1]

WHAT is the history of the religious schism that still divides Christianity? What was the beginning of that other form of the Christian religion which is called Protestantism, and how did it become established in opposition to the Catholic Church? This is the difficult and sad problem we are about to consider; a problem which will present itself under various aspects in the following lectures. Between the crisis of Arianism in the fourth and fifth centuries and that of contemporary rationalism there has been none other so serious in the history of the Church; for the Greek schism deplorable as it was, at least did not impair the essence of Christian teaching.

This crisis deserves, therefore, all our attention; and I do not hesitate to add that the study we shall make of it has an immediate and present interest for us, for there is an intimate connection between that crisis and the religious problem which in such a disturbing way confronts our contemporaries.

Assuredly if we consider its doctrine and theology, its system and homogeneity, we see clearly that Protestantism is no longer the principal danger of the Catholic Church. There are still Protestants, but there is hardly left any system of Protestant

[1] The bibliography concerning each nation will be found at the heads of sections.

theology. The antagonism consequent upon so many confessions of faith has done its work. In spite of the efforts made in the seventeenth century the dogmatic theology of Protestantism has not become a powerful synthetic system, analogous to our Catholic theology, but has gradually disintegrated. What remains is no serious danger.

It is perhaps otherwise with that aggressive, restless Protestantism which tries so hard to enrol the children of the people in its schools, and to bring the poor to its meeting-houses; with that Protestantism which appeals less to the intellect than to want. Its instrument is gold, which is powerless to convince, but able to obtain self-interested recruits among the indigent classes of our great towns, or in the fields of our poorer provinces: it is quick to take advantage of discontent and to exploit those hateful passions always ready to discover themselves.[1]

It is otherwise also with political Protestantism which, in France, under a disguise of false liberalism, has inspired so many laws during the last twenty-five years, has sought to strike at Catholicism and has given a blow to the very spirit of Christianity. To-day it has thrown off the mask, and no longer disguises its sectarian hatred: in fact its leaders, without entirely putting off the cloak of hypocrisy which suits them so well, have allied themselves in all legislative, religious, and educational measures with the worst enemies of that God whom they pretend to serve so purely and so nobly.

[1] We have ourselves witnessed this in different parts of France, especially in Auvergne and around Paris; members of the clergy and sisters of charity bear witness to the same things in the suburbs of Paris and other towns. See also the book of the Abbé Martin, *De l'avenir du Protestantisme et du Catholicisme*, bk. iii. chap. iii.: "Of the Protestant propaganda in Catholic countries."

Especially is it otherwise with that philosophical and mystical Protestantism which is more a condition of mind than a creed, and is so well calculated, by its estimate of doctrine and religion, to seduce the vague, wandering, illogical intellects of so many of our contemporaries, even among those who say and believe they are Catholics. I am not of those who deny *Protestant infiltrations*[1]; I verified their existence long ago in the case of more than one of the faithful and even of more than one priest. The Protestant conquest is not an empty word: it threatens us, nay, it is being accomplished before our eyes by means of politics, education, and literature. The knowledge of how it was established in the past will perhaps equip us for a better defence in the present.

Do not think, however, that contemporary prepossessions, though they be justified in the heart of a Catholic and a priest, will influence my exposition of history; I think I have already given proof of my impartiality and scientific disinterestedness: moreover, the further I advance in my career of study the more strongly am I persuaded that God does not need the lies of men to strengthen His cause: *numquid eget Deus mendacio vestro?*

Nor shall I depart, in spite of present bitterness, from the respect and charity we owe to those whom I am happy still to call our *separated brethren.* Finally, how can I forget that there are those among them whose moral life is worthy of all respect, who have had the rare courage to side with the persecuted? I offer my thanks to the latter; and since—to use Newman's beautiful expression—they have not sinned

[1] I do not mean that they are to be seen in everything, or that I join in all the accusations made by the Reverend Father Fontaine in his book, *Les Infiltrations Protestantes.*

against the light, I pray God to shed still brighter and more convincing light upon the eyes of their souls. Should my words reach them, may they be helpful to them!

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You know the theory of most Protestant historians concerning the origin of the religious reformation of the sixteenth century.[1] It was, if they are to be believed, the irresistible and spontaneous outburst of the moral conscience of the people, driven to revolt by the corruption of the Roman Church. This corruption, they say, went far back; the majority say that it began in the fourth century, but some place its origin as early as the second. The usurpations and superstitions, nay, the abominations of Rome multiplied and accumulated in the course of centuries: they had tainted and soiled everything, when God, taking pity on His Church, raised up two great reformers, Luther and Calvin, who were the prophets of a new era, the apostles of religion in spirit and in truth, the revivers of the Christian life, and the enlighteners of unfettered intellects: in every sense they justified the famous Protestant device: *Post tenebras lux!*

I do not speak of the points in this system which are embarrassing from a Christian point of view; it is hardly necessary to point them out. It is useless to say, as Protestant authors generally do, especially in their books for use in schools, that "God watched with love over the work of His well-beloved Son"[2];

[1] Even to-day, in spite of so much objective historical research, this theory is displayed in all its simplicity in otherwise learned works, such as the *Calvin* of Pastor Doumergne.

[2] *Vie de Luther* (for the use of Protestant schools), by E. Haag, p. 7.

for if God allowed the abomination of error and corruption not only to enter but also to remain and establish itself in the Church, and that for twelve hundred years, can it be said that He watched over His work with love? What becomes in this case of those promises of assistance that Jesus Christ so solemnly made to His apostles? And if He failed in such a way; or, in other words, if history as recounted by Protestants convicts one of the fundamental utterances of Jesus Christ of non-fulfilment, is not serious damage wrought to His authority, and consequently to His Divinity? The latter, it is true, is of little importance nowadays to most French Protestants.

But true history is not that told by Protestants and their intellectual adepts, who are so numerous among the professors and the authors of manuals used in the University.

The Protestant reformation was not a spontaneous revolt of Christian conscience, or at most it was so only in part, in a few individual and transient cases; it had been prepared long before its appearance by a series of very important events. Döllinger, Janssen, and, more recently, Evers, have shown that it was the consequence of a political and national rather than of a religious movement. In short, it was definitely established and authorised by the will of rulers who did not fear to support it by force, because it was of service to them. This I will try to demonstrate as briefly as possible.

And first let us forestall a possible misunderstanding. When I assert that the Protestant revolution was the effect of many causes in which religion did not always hold the chief place, I do not mean to say that the Catholic Church of the sixteenth century had no need of reform. The most Catholic contemporaries of

Luther and Calvin, beginning with Pope Adrian VI., the most resolute apologists of the seventeenth century, with Bossuet the greatest of all at their head, and the most devoted Church historians of the nineteenth century, do not hesitate to recognise the fact and to proclaim it when occasion calls for it.

For two centuries the Church had been passing through a formidable crisis. From the beginning of the fourteenth century—the century of Philip the Fair and the Emperor Louis of Bavaria—the rupture between the civil and ecclesiastical powers was preparing. This was largely influenced by the growth of the national sentiment, and of the royal power, which would brook neither a superior nor an equal. Incessant disputes set Church and State at variance, and divided the souls of the people between fealty to two causes which seemed almost equally sacred to them. The most serious blows had been struck at the rights and independence of the Roman pontiff, who was an exile from the Eternal City: the rebound had been felt by the whole Church.

The long exile of the popes at Avignon had led almost fatally to the great schism, with its scandalous rivalry of popes, to withdrawals of obedience, and the tendency of the national Churches to rule themselves under the jealous supervision of the heads of states, to the enfeebling and disorganising of the hierarchy: the Papacy, being in dispute, was terribly undermined, and the general disorder of Christendom was further aggravated by war and public calamities.

Then throughout the West a cry was raised for the reformation of the Church in its head and members. It is possible, indeed it is true, that the grievances of Christians were stated with excessive ardour, owing to the animosity of some and the extreme enthusiasm

of others; but these grievances were not without foundation: reform was necessary.

Long before the end of the fourteenth century it had been sought by various means. Some had surrendered themselves to mysticism, striving, by the establishment of direct relations between their souls and God, for that intimate union with the Godhead which is the supreme end of the Christian life, trying even at times to do without a Church which to some seemed no longer able to guide men into the way of salvation. Others had wholly given themselves up to heresy: Wycliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, for instance, were the representatives at once of a theological system originating in learned universities, and of national, social, and political aspirations, in virtue of which they were bitterly hostile to the constitution of the established Church. Finally other much more moderate reformers were orthodox in all their intentions, but were led away by the unhappy circumstances under which the Church laboured into a false conception of the rights of councils and popes: these latter constituted the celebrated school of the doctors of Paris.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century we see this reforming party at work. That great and glorious assemblage of the Christian world, the Council of Constance, gave back her unity to the Church, re-established provisional peace by concluding concordats with the various nations, and arranged the return to Rome of Martin V., the Pope they had elected; and the latter went back to Rome prepared to restore the Roman state and the rights of the successor of Peter.

At the completion of its labours the Council of Constance was full of hope. I wish I could say:

that hope was not vain hope: the Church has reformed herself and has become again the mistress of the souls and wills of men. Alas! at the end of a century, I see Italy a prey to the semi-pagan rationalism of the Renaissance, and Germany and other nations going over to Protestantism.

The fifteenth century should have been that of the Catholic reformation: why was it not so?

Because the circumstances were such that the Papacy found itself at first, and for a considerable time, obliged to concentrate its efforts on the restoration in the Western world of the true understanding of the Church's constitution and of the papal power; and that, in spite of the opposition of a council—that of Basle—which was supported by a large section of Christian opinion; in spite of those who held the theory that popes were subordinate to councils—and they were to be found in all nations and in every university; and in spite of the ill-will of princes and kings, especially those of France, who, the more they wished to subordinate their Churches to the civil power, the more they sought to strengthen the former's independence of Rome.

Because hardly had the Papacy succeeded in crowning the work of union begun at Constance by showing Catholics the true centre of unity, when it saw all Christendom menaced by the Muslim invasion and spent itself in vain efforts to combine divided Europe into one crusade, without succeeding even in inducing the Italian states, which were those especially threatened by the Turks, to forget their disputes.

Because these disputes of the Italians, and the consequent danger to the papal state, contributed to stamp the Papacy with a political character

which became predominant at the end of the fifteenth century, and in the reigns of Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., and Julius II., too often relegated purely religious considerations to a second place.

Finally, because the Papacy itself, allured by the charm of the Renaissance to the extent I have shown, was not sufficiently aware of the danger, and, proud to lead the march of the new civilisation, did not hear soon enough the sound of the blows which were struck at the traditional faith, and the murmur of troubled consciences.

The work of reform, nevertheless, had never been quite forgotten. Various renewed attempts of reform had been made, especially in Germany, by Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and Saint John Capistran in the middle of the fifteenth century; it was studied by Pius II., Paul II., and even by Sixtus IV. It is true that their reforms were partial and incomplete, for the Papacy did not dare to attempt a general reform for fear of encountering the opposition of too many ecclesiastical dignitaries, and of all princes, who were as little anxious to perform their share in the reformation as they were quick to denounce the Church when she failed to achieve it.

It was, alas, too late when, after the energetic protestations of the ardent Dominican Girolamo Savonarola, the work of reform was taken in hand more thoroughly, and with a stronger determination to carry it through, by the fifth Lateran Council in the reigns of Julius II. and Leo X. In Germany the revolutionary elements were already stirring: they were prepared to burst upon the rest of Christendom, fulfilling to the letter the prophetic threats which the great Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini had launched at Pope Eugenius IV. from the Council of Basle:

"The Bohemian heresy is extinct, but another, much more dangerous, will arise. . . . Who does not see that the danger of total subversion is evident? Woe to the clergy, wherever they may be found! . . . They are said to be incorrigible, and determined to live in their shameful perversity, whatever the cost. . . . The minds of men teem with what they prepare against us, . . . they think that despoiling and killing the priests will be a sacrifice acceptable to God. . . . They ascribe both the shame and the fault to the Roman court, because they see in her the cause of all the abuses in Christendom. . . . The princes of Germany will rise against us. . . . I see the axe laid to the root, the tree about to fall, and instead of supporting it while it is still possible, we dash it to the ground."[1]

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It was in Germany that the great religious crisis of the sixteenth century actually burst. The state of Italy and the psychology of Italians at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries gave us the key to the Renaissance, and in like manner the state of Germany and the psychology of Germans at the end of the fifteenth century will supply us with the key to the Reformation and the Protestant heresies.[2]

[1] *Monumenta gener. concil. sæculi*, xv. vol. ii. p. 97.

[2] The books relating to the German Reformation would fill a library in themselves. I shall indicate only a few here, referring my readers for the bibliography to the work of M. Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*. This is the most complete work. A new edition, revised and considerably enlarged by Pastor, is in course of publication at Freiburg, by Herder; we will call it Janssen-Pastor. References in this book are made to the English translation by A. M. Christie. London: Kegan Paul. Besides this important work, we may mention:

"*Armes deutschen Land!* poor Germany!" cried the Emperor Maximilian, after he had spent his life in trying to give a little unity to Germany and a little strength to the central power at that serious time when the Empire, threatened on the west by the French, was unceasingly menaced by Turkish invasions on the east. Disorder and anarchy continued in spite of all his efforts. The princes, who were individually anxious to assert their independence of the Emperor, made light of the common welfare. They were permeated and impressed with the spirit and principles of Roman law: they trampled upon the ancient German customs, opposed the state

Döllinger, *Die Reformation ihre innere Entwickelung*, etc. Ratisbon, 1846. Among Protestant histories we may cite Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen seit der Reformation*, 2nd ed., 1854-55; and L. Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 4th ed., 1867-68; and in French, Merle d'Aubigné, *Histoire de la Reformation du XVI^e^ siècle, temps de Luther*, new edition, Paris, 1860-62, without critical value.

Lives of Luther: Melanchthon, *Historia de vita et actis Lutheri.* Wittenberg, 1546.

Cochlœurs (Dobereck), *Commentaria de actis et scriptis Lutheri.* Mainz, 1549.

Among the modern biographies:

Jurgens, *Luthers Leben* (up to the dispute about indulgences). Leipzig, 1846-47 (Protestant).

Koestlin, *Luther, sein Leben und seine Schriften.* Elberfeld, 2nd ed., 1883. (A complete biography of a scientific character.)

Evers, *Martin Luther, Leben und Charakterbild*, etc. Mentz, 1883-92 (Catholic).

Kolde, *Luther, eine Biographie*, 1884-89 (a very elaborate work; Protestant).

Denifle, *Luther und Lutherthum.* Mentz, 1904 (Catholic).

In French: Audin (Catholic), *Vie de Luther.* Paris, 1839. (This work has had a great reputation and is still read with interest, but it has been improved upon in every way, and is no longer authoritative.)

Kuhn (Protestant pastor), *Luther, sa vie et son œuvre.* Paris:

assemblies with the object of suppressing them, increased the taxes, sought to add to their revenues in every way, began to covet the property of the Church, violated ecclesiastical dignitaries, and entered into mutual alliances to oppress the weak.

The lower nobility, consisting of the knighthood, was the army of the revolution. They were the immediate vassals of the Emperor, but actually recognised no authority. Always helmeted and armed, they were constantly at strife with the peasantry and towns, and with the lay and ecclesiastical princes. There have not been wanting litterateurs and even historians to describe them as the defenders of ancient

Fischbacher, 1883. (Written with emotion and heat, but without critical value.)

Works of Luther:

Ed. Walch, 24 vols., Halle, 1740-1750. Ed. Plochmann and Irmischer, 67 vols. of German works, 28 vols. of Latin works, Erlangen, 1826-1879. Only the last volumes of the Latin, and the 2nd edition of the German works (22 volumes in all) answer the requirements of modern criticism.

A critical edition, with which, however, Fr. Denifle finds serious fault, was undertaken on the occasion of the fourth centenary of Luther's birth and confided to Knaake, *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesammt-Ausgabe.* Weimar, 1883 *et seq.*

The *letters* and *consultations* were collected by de Wette (German), 5 vols., Berlin, 1825-1828, and Seidmann, 1 vol., 1856.

Burckhardt, *M. Luther; Briefwechsel, mit vielen unbekannten Briefen.* Leipzig, 1866. The *Tischreden* (table-talks) were first published in two different editions, published in 1844 and 1848, by Forstemann and Bindseil, 4 vols., and in Latin by Bindseil, 3 vols., 1863.

Kolde, *Analecta Lutherana, Briefe und Aktenstücke Zur Gesch. Luthers.* Gotha, 1883.

A short *résumé* of the German works, especially those of Janssen, was made with care and precision (save for the bibliography) by M. Laffay, in three pamphlets of the *Science et Religion* series published by Blond: I. *L'Allemagne au temps de la Réforme;* II. *Luther;* III. *La conquête luthérienne.*

German liberty, as the redressers of wrongs and protectors of the oppressed: in reality it was the weak who were these victims. They pillaged the peasants, they burnt the villages, and they robbed the merchants. The two most perfect and popular types of these brigand-knights were Franz von Sickingen and Goetz von Berlichingèn;[1] the latter compared himself and his followers to a band of wolves: "As we were starting on our journey, five wolves threw themselves on a flock of sheep. I took pleasure in watching them and wished good luck to them as to ourselves: I said to them 'Good luck, comrades, good luck to all,' and I regarded it as a good sign that we went thus to the attack at the same time as they!" The towns, so essential to the prosperity and power of Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were also absolutely selfish in their politics: they were often in opposition to the Emperor, and at strife with the princes and knights: they were the victims of interior disputes, and threatened by a growing faction of agitators irritated by the inflammatory appeals of orators and preachers with social tendencies, such as Geyler of Kaisersberg "who invited the poor to hunt like wolves the monopolists who sucked the blood of the people."[2]

The incipient social revolution was not confined to the towns. The dispositions of the peasantry were the greatest danger of Germany. They had their rights, and these rights were continually violated: lords and knights were joined against them: they had goods,

[1] Ullman, *Franz von Sickingen*, Leipzig, 1872, and Wegele, *Goetz von Berlichingen* in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Kunstgeschichte* of Muller, 3rd year, 125-166. Hanover, 1874.

[2] Dacheux, *Un réformateur catholique à la fin du XV^e siècle.* Paris and Strasburg, 1876.

but their goods were constantly subject to pillage. Moreover, they knew now that they had power, for their princes used to sell them to the sovereigns of Europe: they were the famous lansquenets (landsknechte) who had so many victories to their credit. Why not make use of their arms in their own defence?

They began to form leagues: in twenty-five years they had already risen four or five times to chastise the nobles in one place or another; and the spirit of equality and socialism always inspired their demands. This was the prelude to that terrible peasants' war which was soon to steep the west of Germany in blood.[1]

It is easy to understand why the Emperor Maximilian said: "Poor Germany!" and why the Elector of Mainz said to the young Charles who had just succeeded Maximilian: "We foresee so great a conflagration of the whole of Germany that we do not think the like will have been heard of in the past: *tale universæ Germaniæ incendium perspicimus, quale nullis ante temporibus auditum arbitramur.*"[2]

It is obvious that the revolution was imminent, but, it will be asked, why did it assume a religious character? and why was it manifested in the separation of Germany from Rome? Why was it not purely political and social, like other revolutions? But first, is it quite certain that there have been any political and social revolutions in Christendom in which the religious question was not involved? I will not pursue this question, for its discussion might lead us too far from the point. This particular revolution was of a re-

[1] See Janssen, vol. iv. bk. vii. *Social Revolution.* English trans.

[2] Letter of 8th February 1520. Lanz, *Correspondenz der Kaisers Carl V.*, vol. I. p. 57.

ligious character because it was set in motion by a monk and a religious reformer; and the reason of this was that this monk found a certain reponsive element in the minds of his German contemporaries.

We can decern the traces of a triple movement—religious, intellectual, and national — in German society of the first years of the sixteenth century.

The religious movement involved those monks and priests who were hostile to the pontifical and episcopal power, the theological successors of the mystics of the fourteenth ceutury, the hidden sectaries of John Huss, who were secretly perpetuated in a large part of Germany, and also all those who were scandalised by the undoubted disorders of many of the clergy, and hoped no longer for salvation through the Church herself, but were prepared to: "Do without her, or reform her by force!"[1] Now these latter were predisposed to accept teachings such as those of Luther; the best of them were keenly aware of the sin that reigned in the world, they had a great desire to be justified and sanctified, and the means supplied by the Church seemed inadequate to them: they wanted justification straight from Christ Himself, and they sought teaching from Holy Scripture alone. In a word, they went to God without the Church's help. These were already the tendencies of preachers and theologians such as Geyler of Kaisersberg, Johann von Wesel, Johann von Goch, Nicolas Russ, and also of Luther.

The intellectual movement was that of humanism—which I have, I think, sufficiently described—with its

[1] Upon this question of the state of the German clergy Janssen-Pastor may be consulted, *History of the German People*, vol. i. English trans. It is well recapitulated by Laffay, *L'Allemagne au temps de la Réforme*, in the collection *Science et Religion*.

tendencies at first Christian, then rationalist, becoming more and more hostile to scholasticism and the traditional teaching of the Church. After the Reuchlin controversy, the movement culminated in the division of thinking Germany into two hostile camps.

Finally, the national movement fed on the hatred of the Germans for Rome the origin of which is lost in that ancient, drawn-out war between the priesthood and the empire. It is true that the Pope and Emperor were reconciled since the concordat of 1448, but the princes added hatred of their Pope to the hatred of the Emperor: the knights, especially Ulrich von Hutten, proclaimed themselves champions of German national unity. Ulrich of Hutten constituted himself mouthpiece of the German rancour against Rome: in 1514 he addressed a poem to Albert of Mainz in which he celebrates all the ancient glories of Germany, and, not content with protesting against the financial exactions of the Papal court, he accuses Rome and the Papacy of having hindered the national development of his country. In 1519, he shut himself up in his castle of Seckelberg, where he had a printing-house, and published pamphlet after pamphlet. He attacked the Latin spirit in the name of the German spirit: he looks upon the Roman pontiff as the enemy of the fatherland, and gives voice to this savage cry: "The Pope is a brigand, and the brigand's army is called the Church!"[1]

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Martin Luther was to combine in himself all these elements: they were to be embodied in, and to take their life's breath from, him.

[1] Boecking, *Ulrici Utteni opera*. Leipzig, 1859-1862. *Cf.* Janssen, vol. iv. pp. 274, 276. English. trans.

Luther did not have to create anything: all the materials for the Reformation were at his hand. In theology, the Augustinian monks gave him the principles of a theory of grace which he was to stretch to their furthest limits; and in the matter of ecclesiastical descipline he had the Hussite organisation for a model. The princes moved by ambition and avarice, the knights, and the revolutionaries of town and country formed an army quite ready to engage in warfare, and he had not even to organise its staff of officers. John Huss had been the leader of the religious movement; Erasmus and the *poets* of Erfurt, of the intellectual, and Ulrich von Hutten, of the national: Luther was the embodiment of all three.

Doubtless, you have heard, and will hear again from those who are satisfied with a superficial system of apologetics, that Luther was proud and sensual, and that if the Reformation succeeded, it was because it slackened the bridle that had hitherto checked the proud and sensual passions of mankind. It is true that Luther was proud and sensual, but that was his weakness, not his strength. Nor was the unbridling of passions the principal cause of the popularity and success of German Protestantism; though it sometimes helped them. To the honour of our poor humanity there is no instance of the triumph of a cause made up only of bad and impure elements.

The strength of Luther and the Lutheran movement was due to the satisfaction they offered to contemporary tendencies. Luther was the living personification of the latter.

Even the power of his mind does not explain his immense influence: it was due to power of soul. Luther was a soul; a soul living, original, and in-

dividual, but also profoundly German. "I was born for my fellow Germans," said he, "and I wish to serve them."

In the genius of the Germans there is a strange blending of gross coarseness and mystical sentiment, of violent desires and tender and intimate religion. Luther was subject to this combination in an unusual degree.[1]

The tone of his polemics is frightfully coarse. In the treatise on the *Abuse of the Mass*, in which he stigmatised the sacrifice as idolatry, we read:

"Whence come ye then, ye priests of idols? Are ye not thieves and plunderers and blasphemers of the Church, who scandalously abuse for your own glory, pride, greed, and malice the holy name of 'priest,' which is the common possession of all Christians, but which you have taken by force as your private property? You are not priests, but intolerable burdens on the earth. Have you any conception what punishment you hypocrites and robbers have deserved?" . . . "It is far better to be a hangman or a murderer than a priest or a monk." . . . "The Pope, the Devil's Nag, has made the whole priesthood into the dregs of all that is most execrable; the consecration now stamps the priests with the 'mark of the Beast' of the Apocalypse."[2]

He casts insult equally upon the universities, which he calls "temples of Moloch and caves of evil-doers." He characterises the Louvain theologians as "boorish asses, cursed sows, wretched swindlers, bellies of blasphemies, dry-blooded incendi-

[1] Dr Denifle insists on the ribald coarseness of Luther: *Luthers zotenhafte Sprache und scheussliche zotenhafte Bilder und Verse*, pp. 778-805.

[2] See English translation of Janssen, vol. iii. pp. 232, 233.

aries, fratricides, coarse swine, dainty pigs, heretics and idolaters, conceited strutters, damned pagans, stagnant pools, accursed broth of hell," etc. The Faculty of Theology in Paris is "the damned synagogue of the Devil." . . . It is "consumed from the top of its head to the souls of its feet with white leprosy. It is the most abominable intellectual street-walker that has ever appeared under the sun," etc.[1]

This scurrility pleased the people; yet these same people were moved to tenderness when they were told what the Doctor Martin Luther did one day when he found a bunch of violets hidden under the snow on his window-ledge; how he had taken the poor flowers to warm them with his breath and melt the hoar-frost that covered them; what sweet and simple pleasure he had taken in performing this work of resuscitation; and also how he had been grieved on finding that, in spite of his care, one little violet, frozen to the sap, was unable to warm and thrive under his friendly breath.

And the same people saw themselves once more in those confessions in which Luther owns his interior struggles, like those of other men, and the means by which he sought escape from them, sometimes, copious libations and tremendous jests; and side by side with this, he makes use of the most touching, the most emotional, even the most tragic terms to depict the anguish of his soul: "To my false confidence in my own justification was added continual doubt, despair, terror, hatred, and blasphemy. . . . My soul was crushed with sorrow; I was plunged into ceaseless agony, and all the consolations I wished to draw from my personal justification and works

[1] Janssen, note 2, vol. ii. p. 204, French translation, and Hœfler, Papst Adrian VI. pp. 41, 301, 367. Vienna, 1880.

were powerless to console me."[1] Thousands of men, in reading this, might imagine it to be their own history.

And when Luther speaks of the love of God, relating the happiness of the soul which is united with Christ by the ring of faith, as a wife is joined to her husband, are not his pages imbued with the depth of tone and the penetrating charm of the tenderest of German mystics?[2] This consciousness of the fall of man, of his need of santification, this conviction that salvation comes, not from works, but only from faith in Christ; this appeal to the interior spirit and to the sole testimony of conscience; are not these ideas in some sort strangely powerful and alluring, especially to men whom serious grievances against the clergy and a multitude of national prejudices tended to estrange from the Roman Church: grievances and prejudices which Luther played upon in his appeals to the nobility and people of Germany? *Los von Rom!*

Luther was indeed *kerndeutsch*, thoroughly German, as Evers says. He combined in himself the aspirations of many of his fellow citizens; and it was the combination of these aspirations which was designated, at the beginning of the great crisis of the sixteenth century, under the name of Lutheranism. In this lay the secret both of his strength, and of the early triumphs of the Protestant Reformation.

I say the early triumphs, for, as everyone knows, all those causes which were at first confounded with those of the religious reformation were soon to be defeated. First came the overthrow of the knights,

[1] Quoted by Jurgens, *Luthers leben*, vol. i. p. 577.

[2] *Of the liberty of a Christian*, Sœmmthiche Werke, vol. iv. pp. 173-199.

and the end of the revolutionary knighthood; then that of the peasants, who were drowned in blood with the approval of Luther himself; then the rout of humanism, after the quarrel between Erasmus and Luther, the decay of the universities, and the ruin of the schools; and finally, the lamentable miscarriage of the national movement, the internal division and the weakness of Germany when confronted by the house of Austria, then by Sweden and France, the incessant appeal for foreign aid; and all this for two centuries. Heresy alone remained: why was this the case? It was owing to the help of the princes, who became all-powerful after the overthrow of the revolutionary elements and the seizure of the Church's property; of princes who were lords of their subjects' consciences as well as of their bodies: in virtue of the oft proclaimed principle: *cujus regio, hujus religio*: who owns the country, owns the religion; of princes who were therefore anxious to maintain, even by force, a state of things so advantageous to their cupidity and the preservation of their autocracy. Another reason for the persistence of heresy was that it copied Rome, against which it had rebelled. It established churches with a sovereign authority by imposing formula of faith and by transmitting to children, through education and instruction, doctrines which were ready-made and externally authoritative, like those of the Catholic Church. Does it really seem worth while to have rebelled against her, and to have caused such a sad division in the Christian world?

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We must now make a study of the other European nations which passed over to Protestantism, as we have done in the case of Germany. I shall show you,

wherever it triumphed, the political and social causes which made a complete change in the state possible, and the traces of the triple movement—religious, intellectual, and national—which gave this change the character of a religious revolution and a separation from Rome. Moreover, I shall show you that nowhere—not in England, or in the Scandinavian States, or in Switzerland—were these political, social, religious, intellectual, and national causes sufficient to justify, or even to explain, the separation from the Catholic Church; that nowhere did they give a character of spontaneity to the Protestant Reformation; and that in no instance do they supply the reason of its final victory. Protestantism, that so-called protest of conscience against the tyranny of the Roman Church, must at last acknowledge that every one of its victories was due to the civil power, which had something to gain by its success, and did not scruple to protect it either by stratagem or force.

In England,[1] as in the whole of Europe, the development of the national sentiment and of the royal power, the captivity of Babylon and the great schism, gave rise to a movement of opposition to the Papacy as early as the fourteenth century; to aspirations towards mysticism, and finally to a tentative heresy—

[1] Consult upon the English Reformation, among Catholic writers: Lingard, *History of England.* Du Boys, *Catherine d'Aragon et les origines du schisme anglican.* Paris, 1880. Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries.* Among Anglican writers: R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England from the abolition of the Roman jurisdiction.* London, 1884-91; and Gilbert W. Child, *Church and State under the Tudors.* London, 1890. Leslie Stephens, *Dictionary of National Biography,* containing noteworthy articles upon all the persons concerned in the Reformation. Green, *History of the English People,* is interesting, but has a strong bias towards Protestantism.

that of Wycliff. In England, as in Germany, grave social and political disturbances marked the course of the fifteenth century. The consequences of the black death, which made such terrible havoc in Great Britain, were felt for more than a century, affecting the conditions of labour, the relations of the classes, and even disturbing the good organisation of the clergy. The Hundred Years' War, and especially the Wars of the Roses, in addition to exposing the poor people to all sorts of evils, destroyed the old aristocracy and enabled the Tudors, victorious after so much civil warfare, to establish absolute power. The Church fell into the hands of the King, and suffered also from the general disorder consequent upon war and public calamity: it is certainly true that she needed reform. As we have seen, the humanists demanded it in England as they did in Germany, but, far from desiring a separation from Rome, the English Church and people of the sixteenth century seemed to have forgotten many of their ancient grievances against the Papacy. In 1520 there was absolutely nothing to show that England would separate herself from Catholic unity. It is impossible to repeat too often that the caprice of a sensual and headstrong tyrant was not only the occasion, but the actual cause of that deplorable secession. And who is ignorant of the truly draconian laws, the armed repression, and the atrocious tortures by means of which Henry VIII. forced schism upon an unwilling Church and people?[1] Is it necessary to remind you that in the reign of his successor Edward VI.

[1] Green says that "the ten years of Thomas Cromwell's ministry (under Henry VIII.) can be compared only to the dictatorship of Robespierre: it was the English terror."—*History of the English People.*

the government went from schism to heresy, and did not hesitate to engage German troops against those who took up arms rather than abandon their faith? Finally, does not the name of Elizabeth recall one of the most horrible religious tyrannies that the world has known, under which the mere hearing, as well as the celebration, of three Masses was enough to condemn a man to death? This is how Protestantism, that protest of conscience, was planted in England.

Is not the Protestant historian Schoell compelled to write that in Sweden[1] "the Reformation was the result of politics, that it was sought and introduced against the will of a large portion of the nation by a monarch who looked upon it as a means of consolidating his power, and had to struggle during the whole of his reign against his subjects' repugnance to renounce the faith of their fathers"? What is truer than this? In Sweden no one, or hardly anyone, demanded a religious reformation, and no one thought of seceding from Rome. Vasa was proclaimed king; he did not know how to discharge the debts bequeathed to him by the civil and foreign wars; the country people who had supported him would not hear of taxes, and the nobles, who constituted the armed

[1] There are few English and French works upon the history of the Scandinavian States. Consult Geffroy, *Histoire des Etats scandinaves,* in Hachette's collection of manuals of universal history. Allen's *Histoire du Danemark.* French translation by Beauvois. *L'Histoire de Suède,* by Geijer, translated into French by Lunblad. Paris, 1839. Consult Allen upon the origin and beginning of the Protestant Reformation in the three kingdoms: *History of the three northern kingdoms under John, Christian II., Frederick I., and Gustavus Wasa.* Copenhagen, 1865-1872 (in Danish). Kamp, *History of the Catholic Church in Denmark* (in Danish, translated into German). 1863. G. Weydling, *History of Sweden at the time of the Reformation* (in German). Gotha, 1882. M. Haumant's chapter in the *Histoire générale de Lavisse et Rambaud,* vol. iv., may be read with profit.

power, demanded payment. The goods of the clergy were at hand; certain prelates were opposed to Gustavus Vasa—they knew that he was a Lutheran; his dependence upon the three apostates—Lawrence Anderson and Olaüs and Lawrence Petri—was well known. The king stirred up public opinion against the clergy, their political attitude, and their riches. In 1524 he delivered over to torture Canut, the aged Archbishop of Upsala, and Sunnanwæder, Bishop of Westeræs, pretending that they were concerned in a plot. Certain towns joined the movement, but the rural districts resisted energetically. Gustavus deceived them and provoked them against the clergy. "Certain monks and clerics," he wrote in his letter to the inhabitants of Helsingland in 1526, "have accused us of evil intentions because we do not allow them to act against the precepts of religion. . . . They refuse to administer the sacraments to their debtors instead of acting in accordance with the law on this matter; if a poor man catches a bird or goes fishing on Sunday the Church condemns him to pay a fine to the bishop or parish priest pretending that he has profaned the Sabbath. The clergy are in possession of much property which belongs to the Crown, and they arrogate to themselves the office of the king in the matter of fines."

At the great diet of Westeræs, in 1527, Gustavus wished to strike a decisive blow. Lawrence Anderson, his chancellor, who had been a student at Wittenberg, made a long speech to the diet, describing the distress of the treasury, the immense riches of the Church, and the ill-will of the clergy in the matter of helping the king; he said that resistance on the part of the clergy must be ignored, that abuses of which the whole world was tired must be reformed, and finally

that the king must be allowed to make use of that mass of unproductive wealth.

They were so far from being tired of the alleged abuses that the dean of the Senate replied that, "if there are any, they can be corrected without affecting the Church, her constitution, or her rites, and that duty to the king should not make them forget duty to the pope." These words expressed the almost unanimous opinion of the assembly.

Gustavus enacted the farce of abdication, left the state without government, treated with the nobles, promising them a share of the plunder, and then resumed the crown. He was authorised to possess himself of the Church's property: he completed the measure by issuing edicts which reserved to himself the nomination to ecclesiastical offices, subjected the clergy to civil tribunals, commanded the reading of the Gospel in the schools, and established freedom of preaching.

In the midst of the plunder of her property, the new organisation of the Church went almost unnoticed. Moreover, Gustavus proceeded very prudently in order that his subjects might pass unsuspectingly from the one religion to the other. And he succeeded: at the end of the century the substitution was achieved.

A similar stratagem, or if you will, betrayal, was employed in Denmark. Christian II., from the beginning of Lutheran preaching, sought to make use of the new doctrines to establish an absolute monarchy. In 1520, despite the protests of the clergy and people, he handed over the Church of Copenhagen to a disciple of Luther, and condemned the Archbishop of Lund to death. He was expelled by his subjects. His fortunate rival, Frederick I. of

Holstein, swore to maintain Catholicism, but he did not hesitate to break his oath. In the years 1526 and 1527, he extorted from the diet of Odensee those measures which prepared the way for the triumph of Lutheranism: thenceforth the bishops would not seek their confirmation from Rome, but from Lund; the payments that had been made to the Pope would go to the king. Many monasteries were confiscated, and the celebration of worship in the Danish tongue was soon introduced. The death of Frederick was followed by a terrible civil war; the bishops were forced to acknowledge his son Christian III., who acted in concert with the lay aristocracy and a section of the commonalty. It was decided to exclude the bishops from the diet and to confiscate their goods: they were all sent to prison until they should agree to sign a resignation of their office together with an undertaking that they would make no protest against the action of the next diet: one of them died a martyr in his cell. This diet, which was composed almost entirely of nobles, ratified the religious revolution: the king in return conceded to them his rights over the peasants, and serfdom was definitely established, and to this reward he added a considerable quantity of ecclesiastical property. Shortly afterwards the bishops were replaced by superintendents. The Catholics resisted for ten years. In 1546, the diet of Copenhagen abolished all the rights of the ancient Church, punished those who remained faithful by subjecting them to legal disabilities, and pronounced sentence of death against the priests and whomsoever should give them shelter.

Unfortunate Iceland rose in rebellion against the new doctrine which was being forced upon them: one of her two bishops was beheaded, and the

wretched inhabitants realised that they would have to yield.

Let us pass from aristocratic monarchies to the little republic of Switzerland.[1] A similar spectacle awaits us. There again we see the religious reformers turning revolutionary passions and social or national aspirations to account, and, once they are possessed of power, forcing their doctrines upon the people. Is not this especially true of Zwingli and of the Council of Zürich? As soon as the radical and almost socialistic party acquired the majority in the Council, Zwingli demanded the help of the temporal power "in defence of the divine word"; and in 1525 the State Church established itself, proclaimed that only the doctrines of Zwingli were orthodox, proscribed Catholic worship, and demolished tabernacles and altars in the churches; it follows as a matter of course that the property of the churches and convents was confiscated.

The procedure of Berne was similar. Would Geneva itself have become Protestant without the intervention of the former? Zürich and Berne soon took up arms in order to force the new religion upon the whole of Switzerland. They tried to starve those who remained faithful. "Did not the Lord say," wrote Zwingli: "Destroy the evil one that is in your midst?" Fortunately the victory of Cappel saved the cantons which remained Catholic.

I stop here; though it would be easy to multiply instances, which would bring many reflections in their

[1] De Haller, *Histoire de la Révolution religieuse ou de la Réforme protestante dans la Suisse occidentale.* Paris, 1837; *Œuvres de Zwingli,* published by Schuler and Schultes, 10 vols.; *Moenikoper, Zwingle,* 2 vols., 1867-69; Strickler, *Aktensammlung zur schweizer Reformation geschichte,* 3 vols., 1878-84; Stœhlin, *Ulrich Zwingli,* 1897.

train. The following conclusion is sufficient for the present:—that it is only too easy for a government which is strong and knows how to take advantage of certain passions, to lead a people, even a great people, against their will, in the matter of religion at least, if the people do not energetically resist their government. Unlike England and other countries, sixteenth-century France energetically wished to remain Catholic: we shall see how and why. And she did remain Catholic, even when the lawful heir to the throne was a Protestant and a soldier—in short, a Henry IV. And to-day, in the presence of rulers who are not Henrys, may she still show the same unconquerable will to remain constant in her faith, and the same energy in defending it against all its enemies!

V

How and why France remained Catholic in the sixteenth century[1]

CHRISTIAN unity was broken towards the middle of the sixteenth century; the Protestants threatened the Catholic Church on all sides. Forced to take the defensive, betrayed by the majority of governments, Rome had had good cause to despair of the future but for the promises of Christ. Eastern Europe had long been separated from her in spite of half-hearted reconciliations; Northern Europe had just declared

[1] The history of the Protestant Reformation in France is related in all general histories of France and of the Church; but there exists at present no particular history, complete and in accordance with modern science, compiled by a Catholic. The first volume of M. Imbart de la Tour, entitled *Les Origines de la Réforme* (published by Hachette), gives rise to the hope that he will supply this want. Refer for the extensive bibliography of this subject to the *Histoire de France*, published by Hachette, under the direction of M. Lavisse, vols. v. and vi. As a general study of this period, the following are to be recommended:—de Meaux, *Les luttes Religieuses en France au XVI^e siècle.* Paris, 1879. Henri de l'Epinois, *La ligne et les papes.* Paris, 1886. Théodore de Bèze, *L'Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France*, new edition by Baum and Cunitz, Paris, 1887, remains from the Protestant point of view a general work as important as it is interesting. A large number of local studies has been published, especially in the *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire du protestantisme français*, which has appeared since 1852. Among monographs of this class compiled by Catholics, the study of M. Bernard de Lacombe upon Orléans aux temps des guerres de religion, Paris, 1903, should be mentioned. It is by means of these monographs that a true history of the Reformation in France may be constructed.

war; even Spain and Italy were uncertain; humanly speaking, the destinies of the Church depended upon the attitude of France. Had that great and noble kingdom placed its intellectual genius, its political power, and its military forces at the disposal of the Reformation, it had undoubtedly been the end of Catholicism in Europe.[1] In the times of the last Valois, as in those of the founder of the Frankish monarchy, France was to be the lists in which error and orthodoxy would rush into final and decisive battle: under Henry IV., as under Clovis, truth was triumphant, and France was once more the instrument employed by God to preserve its threatened empire. Protestantism was not destroyed, but its progress was stayed for ever.

Why and how was Catholicism the victor, and Protestantism the vanquished, in this religious duel? Why and by what means did France remain Catholic when so many other nations, which were put to the same test, abandoned their traditional faith to follow the teachings of an innovator—of Luther, Zwingli, or Calvin? This is a difficult question to which the only possible reply is a statement of fact resting on the evidence of contemporary documents: France remained Catholic because such was her will. The maintenance of the true religion was in her case the work and the triumph of the national will. Whereas the masses of the people everywhere else in Europe let themselves be conquered, and, through indifference, stratagem, or force, accepted the Reformation from

[1] The Archbishop of Lyons, in a letter dated March 1571, which is quoted by l'Epinois, *La Ligue et les Papes*, p. 472, foresees this possible result: "We cannot lay down our arms in order to treat with heresy without bringing about the complete ruin of religion in France. All Christendom, especially Italy and the Holy See, would soon be lost."

the rapacious and brutal hands of their rulers, the mass of the French people allowed themselves to be neither seduced nor coerced. They defended their faith against all its enemies by every means in their power, and even imposed it upon their king; this is one of the most glorious pages in a history that is full of generous traits. It is a fine thing to protest against the horrors of religious wars, but it is finer, and not so easy, to endure them for the sake of what we believe to be the truth.[1]

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France remained Catholic because she wished it, but why did she wish it? This problem is still more complex, because it can only be solved by the almost unattainable understanding of the very soul of the nation at a given period of moral and religious development. For to say, as is often done, that France wished to remain Catholic because she knew that her history was, from the first, intimately connected with that of the Church, is to enunciate a truth which is undoubtedly incontestable, but is common to all the nations of Europe before the sixteenth century: Is there one of them that did not live by the life of the Catholic Church? Was it, then, simply because the motives which seemed to other nations or their rulers strong enough to determine them to break with their mistress and mother, did not exist in the case of France, or did not possess the same power? We must examine this in some detail.

[1] It is said in certain quarters that France did not become Protestant because the king did not wish it; in reality, it was the people who did not wish it; witness their attitude towards the Protestants at first; moreover, the existence of the League is a sufficient proof of my assertion.

In Germany, where it was born, Protestantism seemed to us to be the result of a triple current—religious, intellectual, and national—flowing into an original and powerful national genius, by which it was borne forward with remarkable energy; a current that was afterwards intercepted, directed, and dammed by selfish and ambitious politics.

Now, may not these three currents be recognised in French society of the sixteenth century? As in Germany, a religious reformation was demanded, and with good reason. In every epoch in France, the satirists found their subject in the debauchery, avarice, and pride of too large a number of clerics and monks who were unworthy of their holy vocations; for a long time they were content to laugh and mock, but the evil was aggravated by reason of a general relaxation of discipline,[1] as was publicly admitted by the highest representatives of the Church; it was not reformed; although sceptics and libertines still mocked, the noblest souls mourned and wept: they dreamt of an ideal which was purer in proportion as the reality became more repelling, and lulled themselves with the vain hope of I know not what return to the primitive Church of Christ. The mass of the people grumbled and became excited; the storm was gathering. "Whom shall we accuse, my brother bishops," cried the Cardinal de Lorraine in full council at Trent, "whom shall we indict as the authors of so great an evil? We must not, we cannot, say and confess it without disgrace and shame to ourselves, without repenting deeply our past life. Through us, the storm and tempest are come, my

[1] Many curious details of the state of the clergy may be found in the *Mémoires de Claude Haton*, published—very incompletely in other respects—by Bourquelot in the *Collection des documents inédits*.

brethren, therefore let us cast ourselves into the sea. Let judgment begin in the house of God, and let those who bear the vessels of the Lord be purged and reformed!"[1]

In France, as in Germany, the tendencies of reform were mingled with those of humanism: we established this in our second lecture.

Finally, in France no less than in the countries of the middle and north of Europe, ill-will towards Rome seemed to be part of that national heritage which every government was anxious to defend and preserve. Undoubtedly France had time after time served the cause of the supreme head of the Church, but for more than two centuries, the imperial pretensions of her kings, the theories of the ancient Roman law which were creeping into her legislation, and even the development of the national sentiment, had inspired her with feelings of distrust which were always on the watch against every sovereignty of a foreign appearance and of a superior nature. This distrust became almost enmity after the political ambitions of the popes in Italy ceased to be in accord with our own. The great schism, with the consequent withdrawals from obedience, the councils of the fifteenth century and their anti-papal doctrines, the tardiness of the popes to institute reform, and the regrettable facility with which they tolerated the kings' abuse of the concordat, blinded the eyes of the people to the inalienable rights and even to the religious majesty of the See of Rome. The ribald and blasphemous witticisms of Rabelais amused a

[1] Oration of the Cardinal de Lorraine to the second general Council of Trent, 23rd November 1562. This speech was delivered in Latin. *Cf.* Bouillé, *Histoire des ducs de Guise*, vol. ii. p. 251.

greater number of people than they scandalised.[1] The Gallican Church itself seemed no less jealous for its national freedom than the civil power. She sided with the majority for Louis XII. against Julius II., and she did not cease to protest against the agreement which Francis I. concluded with Leo X. in 1516. In the most lofty moment of Catholic fervour, at the height of the League, the assembly of the clergy which met in 1586, dared to talk of suppressing a papal bull because the intervention of the nuncio violated the privileges of the Gallican Church: at the famous States-General of 1588 the clergy reproached the Third State with having accepted the publication of the Council of Trent unconditionally, and the legate Morosini had the bitter sorrow of hearing these words which embody such grievous accusations against him who sent him and against himself: "After heresy, the greatest plague of this country has been the Italian foreigner; he has cruelly plundered, and still so plunders, the whole of France; he makes mock of our ruin, and thrives by its means; he has already incurred the displeasure of part of the people, and he will drive the rest to revolt; if we do not soon expel him, he will be expelled by popular fury and rebellion."[2] Even in 1593, at the States-General convoked at Paris to elect a Catholic king, the clergy of Auxerre demanded the abolition of the concordat together with the restoration of elections and the decrease of the taxes which were paid to the Roman court.[3]

[1] In the fourth book of *Pantagruel.*

Letters of the nuncio to Sixtus V. of 3rd and 4th March 1586, quoted by l'Epinois, p. 41, notes 1 and 2.

[2] Morosini to the Pope, 23rd October, 1588; l'Epinois, p. 250.

[3] Articles of remonstrance of the clergy of Auxerre, in the Reports of the States-General of 1593, published by A. Bernard, in the collection of *Documents inédits*, p. 785.

Moreover, it is impossible to deny that there were in France certain elements which were favourable to the establishment of the Reformation. The great man capable of rendering them operative was not wanting: this was Calvin. In fact, there were Protestants in France very early in the history of the Reformation.[1] The first, who were the best, became so almost unconsciously. They were inconsiderable people, clerks or artisans, ill grounded in doctrine, whose religious sentiment was over-excited by the spectacle of disorder in the established Church. Without positively renouncing her, they sought to reach God without having recourse to her; they imagined that if Holy Scripture were read and pondered by all, it would give to all a clear understanding of the divine word.

They adopted the dogma of justification by faith alone, which Luther proclaimed with melancholy enthusiasm, because they were obsessed by a sense of the sin which reigned everywhere about them, and often in their midst, because they were imbued with the idea of a necessary expiation and purification, and because they were disgusted with the spectacle of the works of man. This formidable doctrine, which, even when it is moderated, is a stumbling-block to so many upright minds and hearts, had its enthusiasts and fanatics; I should say that it had its martyrs, if we might depart from the teaching of Saint Augustine, who says that the cause, and not the suffering, makes the martyr: *causa non pœna martyrem facit.* They were persecuted without pity, and, with invincible fortitude, they endured horrible tortures similar to those the followers of the Crucified

[1] Thanks to the preachers: there existed but few treatises and they were not easily accessible to the lower classes.

suffered at the hands of expiring paganism: their blood bore new children to the Reformation, and confirmed in their errors those whom gentler dealings would have brought back to the Church; the stake was the attraction that held or drew towards it the loftiest souls and the most generous consciences.[1]

We condemn in the name of truth those who were led by such motives to separate themselves wittingly and irrevocably from the Catholic Church, but we speak of them with respect, because human interest had no part in determining their resolve; and with pity, because they have suffered.

We cannot say as much for the socially great who constituted the second element of French Protestantism.[2] These latter awaited the sad end of Henry II.'s reign, of the feeble youth of Francis II., and the troubled minority of Charles IX. before they abandoned the faith of their fathers.[3] The religious sentiment was almost entirely foreign to them: the pastors, who led the masses, and knew how to raise Puritan armies from among them at opportune moments, had hardly any influence upon the nobles. Their conduct was nearly always determined by ambition, greed of independence, turbulence, the warrior-passion, the infectious example of the German lords, and often by mere vulgar cupidity: "No other discourse was heard at table than about the reforming of the Ecclesiastical Estate, especially the rich abbeys, it behoves us to know; stripping them of the great goods which were the cause, whatever they said to

[1] See, on this subject, a beautiful lesson of Fr. Perrand (now Cardinal) published in the *Revue des cours littéraires* in 1870. *Cf.* Bossuet, *Histoire de France pour le Dauphin*, reign of Henry II.

[2] Forneron, *Les ducs de Guise*, vol. i. p. 340.

[3] About 1557, according to Théodore de Bèze.

the contrary, of their bad life; and establishing them as manors of lands and tenements, which might be bestowed upon an infinity of poor gentlemen."[1]

One of Henry IV.'s strongest supporters advised him to have recourse to a similar expedient at the end of the civil war rather than allow himself to be converted: he assured him that by so rich a distribution of usurped property he could extract from the soil at least three armies of valiant soldiers.[2] I do not wish to speak of the high ecclesiastical dignitaries—bishops or abbots—who fell into apostasy: the most shameful passions—those of the senses—were the most frequent cause of their deplorable perversion; but their number, thank God, was small.[3]

French Protestants, properly so called, for whatever motive they cast in their lot with heresy, never attained to more than a small minority of the nation—not even at the time of their greatest development. The French genius is not mystical as is that of the Germans and Flemings. It needs concrete doctrines which are distinctly defined, rational, and well considered; which are approved and promulgated by authority. The idea of justification by faith alone might well beguile a few lofty souls, but it seemed revolting to the majority; moreover, it was not presented to France with that personal, passionate note which it acquired in Germany by contact with the inner suffering of Luther. In Calvin's narrow and strict brain it had assumed the rigid and logical

[1] Pontus Payen, quoted by Lothrop Motley, *Foundation of the Republic of the United Provinces*, vol. ii. p. 131.

[2] Le Vicomte de Gourdon; it is true that the source is rather suspicious.

[3] Among the bishops, Spifame, of Nevers; Montluc, of Valence; Odet, of Châtillon, Toulouse, and Beauvais; and Carraccioli, of Troyes, fell into heresy.

form of a philosophical system: when it is considered together with his doctrine of predestination, it seems to be the very negation of human freedom and divine goodness.[1] Nothing could be more repugnant to the good sense of the French or to their highly developed sense of the responsibility of man and of the merciful justice of the Almighty. Now the dogma of justification by faith alone is the very foundation and essence of Protestantism: to reject it is to reject Protestantism.

The logical issue of humanism was not the Lutheran or Calvinistic doctrines, but rather rationalism—absolute, in the case of proud minds which were intoxicated with their own powers; in other cases, reconcilable with moderate religious beliefs such as the dogmas of the Catholic Church. In Germany the headstrong genius of Luther had seized upon and carried off everything; it took humanism years to escape it and to resume its natural tendencies together with its own separate existence. The genius of Calvin was not like this impetuous flood: it did not win over those who, in the name of the progress of human intellect and of free inquiry, rose up against a transient form of philosophical and theological teaching.[2] Scholasticism, the Sorbonne, and the University lost their intellectual ascendency, and humanism, satisfied and reconciled with the Church, gave birth to that literary and philosophical work of the seventeenth century, which was, as I have said already, a harmonious synthesis of ancient

[1] I have set forth the doctrines of Calvin in an article in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie*, compiled by M. Mangenot; I mention it for the sake of readers who wish for further particulars.

[2] This was all the more so that Calvin was very hostile to free inquiry, and to rationalism under all its aspects.

wisdom and Christian thought, and the legitimate result of the intellectual Renaissance.

Although sixteenth-century France, in consequence of ascertained historical circumstances, may not have had as much dependence upon, and attachment to, the Roman See as were desirable, yet she knew that it was necessary to the Church. The legate Morosini said at the States-General of 1588 : "The French may deny the papal power verbally, but they do not deny it in fact, for no nation asks more dispensations and favours of the Sovereign Pontiff."[1] The absence of a central power and supreme authority at the head of a society in which one really wishes to see good order re-established and reign henceforth seems an absurdity. Undoubtedly, it was pretended that the prerogatives of the Crown and the Gallican liberties were a necessary protection against encroachments which were considered dangerous, but those prerogatives and liberties were also considered a sufficient security. The concordat gave to monarchical absolutism the scope it demanded. And the bishops, thanks to their territorial wealth, to the high rank they occupied in the state, and to the very various offices with which they were entrusted, felt that they were closely united to the life of the nation. Even their ambition did not lead them into schism. Moreover, although their conduct and zeal were perhaps not always in accord with the sublimity of their mission, yet their faith at least remained inviolate. They were troublesome children to the Roman Church, but they meant to remain faithful children. It is to the eternal honour of the French Church that she never knew the shameful wholesale desertions of the clergy of England. As for the im-

[1] Quoted by l'Epinois, *La Ligne et les Papes*, p. 252.

mense Catholic majority of the population, though they might have prejudices against the court of Rome, and justify them to some extent by the events of the past hundred and fifty years, they were not strongly anti-Roman. Without falling into certain excesses found in Italy or Spain, they had, on the whole, a similar conception of the exterior forms of worship: they loved the Virgin and the Saints, those easily accessible and gentle mediators between man and God; and one most important factor in the situation was that there is no fundamental opposition between the French and Latin spirits. Protestantism, on the contrary, although its origin was partly French and it was not simply an importation, had continuous relations with people of German race and language, which caused it to acquire very early in its history that exotic flavour of which it has never been freed. France felt instinctively that it was the great enemy of its national character.

Such were the reasons which—with the special protection of Providence, whose action, above all in a case of this sort, must not be overlooked—determined sixteenth-century France to preserve the beliefs and customs which had been the strength and honour of the country for eleven hundred years. The ardent desire of reform succeeded in investing them with a semi-protestant manner of speech and action, but they did not look upon reform as identical with revolt. Many whom we consider the protectors and patrons of dawning Protestantism never intended to separate themselves from the Church, and died piously in communion with her. When France had ascertained that true Protestantism meant religious revolution and the complete breaking of tradition, she recovered herself, collected her powers, and rose

almost in her entirety to safeguard her faith. What brought her to this point? This is the second question we have to consider.

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At first sight it does not seem that Catholicism would have much trouble in triumphing over its adversaries; at a time when religious questions were usually settled by force, did it not have all the constitutional strength of the nation on its side: the crown, the ecclesiastical and civil powers, and an army commanded by skilful leaders? Protestantism, on the contrary, was in a minority which was but small among a population, ten times more numerous, which was soon animated by the most hostile sentiments. In the midst of this Protestantism had to rely on its own resources.

All this is true, but, precisely because the Catholics formed the nation, their very mass condemned them to protracted inaction in the face of their daring enemies, and they could not avail themselves of the organised legal powers of the government. Moreover, all these powers failed them in the same hour.

The royal power was at once least worthy and least capable of defending a noble cause at the very moment when it was its duty to cope with heresy.

The continual vacillation of Francis I., and the open protection he had long given, under the influence of his sister Marguerite de Valois, to the humanist reformers, were of considerable assistance to the first steps of heresy. The policy of cruel and prolonged repression which Henry II. adopted at the instigation of his mistress, was no longer able to stay its advance. Bossuet says in this connection: "When men have begun to surrender themselves to the seduction of novelty, they are rather stimulated than checked

by correction." Moreover, those of high social standing escaped; and if one of them happened to be sent to the torture, his courage, which his eminence served only to accentuate, furnished a most dangerous example. The immorality of those who went to extreme measures such as execution and confiscation, and the cupidity of those who profited by them, did not injure the progress of the Reformation in England, in Switzerland, or in Germany. In France they acted to the detriment of Catholicism, by dishonouring its defenders: order, truth, and right cannot employ with impunity the weapons of revolt, error, and evil.[1]

After the death of Henry II. there was no longer a royal policy: the sovereign's line of conduct was determined by changing parties, passions, and interests. For long years a foreigner, who was depraved by the study and assiduous practice of the system of Machiavelli, governed the kingdom of France as if it was an Italian principality. Intrigue was her most honest method; devoid of scruples, she tolerated, and even instigated crime, if she could turn it to only momentary advantage; she looked upon the shameful immorality of the court, which she desired and fostered, as the best means of ensuring her ascendency over the most powerful lords. At Chenonceau in 1577 she caused them to be served at a great banquet "by the most beautiful and honourable ladies of the court, half nude and with their hair flowing loose."[2]

Everyone knows to what end she trained her scandalous troop of maids of honour: brought into close contact with the unwholesome mirth and barrack-room jesting of the young nobles; purposely,

[1] On this repression consult N. Weiss, *La Chambre ardente*. Paris, 1889.

[2] *Mémoires* of l'Estoile, vol. i. p. 86.

and sometimes forcibly corrupted, these unhappy girls had soon lost all sense of modesty; trained to the most servile obedience, even by means of coarse corporal punishment, which the queen liked to administer in person, they dropped and resumed their affairs of gallantry at a word of command from her whose slaves and political instruments they were, even to the feigning of love and passion. It is impossible to reconstruct this time, this court, and this woman. Even her apologists confess that the highest idea of Catherine de Medici was to preserve the power for her children and to exercise it in their name; she was indifferent to all else. It is enough to say how she considered the interests of religion: they were nothing more than pieces in her game of combinations.[1]

Gaspard de Saulx-Tavannes was right in saying that the Huguenot leagues would neither have begun nor continued without the assistance of the queen and the court.[2] In 1561, Catherine de Medici wrote to the Duchess of Savoy "that she was resolved to favour the Huguenots, from whom she hoped for her salvation from the triumvirate."[3] On the occasion of a monk preaching in her chapel she pretended to be asleep, while Charles IV. played noisily with his dog. Henri de Valois, her favourite son, burned his sister Marguerite's book of *Hours* and forced her to use the prayer-books of the Protestants.[4]

[1] Forneron, *Les ducs de Guise*, vol. ii. p. 35 *et seq.*

[2] *Mémoires de Saulx-Tavannes, passim*, from the year 1560. The Petitot Collection, 1st series, vol. xxiv.

[3] 23rd August 1561; interview between Catherine de Medici and Théodore de Beze, in the presence of the Cardinals de Lorraine and de Bourbon. 31st December 1561; demands of reform made to Cardinal Ferrari, the papal legate. January 1562; edict of tolerance. *Cf.* Forneron, *Les ducs de Guise*, vol. i. p. 294.

[4] *Mémoires* of Marguerite de Valois; Petitot, vol. i. p. 31.

All persons of intelligence, he told her, had given up that bigotry; and the queen, his mother, would have her whipped if she continued in it. Catherine was many times on the point of going over to the Protestants: she always made good their defeats by concluding advantageous treaties with them.[1] Even in August 1572, though she was resolved to rid herself of Coligny—being jealous of the ascendency that great man had acquired over the weak Charles IX.—she wished to strike only him. She was so far from thinking of putting an end to the heretics that she pretended to give them as leader her new son-in-law, Henri de Navarre, whom she knew how to bend to her will.[2] "Moreover," d'Epernon wrote later, "those who seemed most hostile to the Huguenots would have been very sorry to see them destroyed and annihilated!"[3] Those who commanded that abominable crime, the massacre of Saint Bartholomew,[4] which is equalled in the history of France only by the massacres of September could not offer even religious fanaticism as their excuse: it was, if we may dare to say it, only an expedient—the last resource of a sovereign at bay, after the abortive attempt to assassinate the Admiral Coligny.[5]

Was Henry III., as the pamphlets of all those parties which were so bitterly opposed to that un-

[1] Edict of Amboise, 1563; treaty of Longjumeau, 1568; treaty of Saint-Germain, 1570; edict of Beaulieu, 1576; edict of Poitiers, 1577.

[2] Forneron, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 15.

[3] Quoted by l'Epinois, p. 105.

[4] *Truculentem illud ac horribile facinus,* says Fr. Theiner.

[5] The question of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew has just been treated afresh by M. Vacandard, *Etudes de critique et d'histoire religieuse.* Information as to the chief sources and the works to consult is to be found therein.

happy prince would have it, only a monster of hypocrisy, who was personally indifferent to every creed and sought to weaken the beliefs of others by vitiating their morals?[1] We should dare neither to affirm nor to believe it. It seems to us more reasonable to accept the opinion of the Nuncio Morosini, which is the most charitable judgment that can be formed of the king's two-sided conduct: "The king evinces remarkable piety, and at the same time hates the Holy Union; he is going to make war against the heretics and he is jealous of the success of the Catholics. He seems to be a single person, yet, in the great theatre of the world, he plays the parts of two: a king full of hope and a king full of fear. He desires the defeat of the Huguenots, yet he dreads it; he dreads the defeat of the Catholics, yet he desires it."[2] The difficulties in the midst of which he struggled, and the shameless audacity of his enemies may inspire a little pity for him, but, when all is said, Henry III. with his skulls, his little dogs, his favourites, his his bullies, perfumes, and litters ranks with those beings whom an honest man would rather see in his enemies' camp than in his own.

For the complete betrayal of Catholic hopes, only one thing was wanting: that the king himself should be a Protestant. This happened in 1589, and it is easy to believe that, had he remained a Protestant, he would place thenceforth the whole civil power at the service of error. Assuredly, the Church of France would have been very wrong to expect much from her kings!

[1] Etienne Pasquier, in one of his letters, discusses the qualities of Henry III., but he arrives at the severest conclusions from the time Henry became king. Book xix. letter 2.

[2] Desptach of 1587, quoted by l'Epinois, p. 81.

Could she at least have confidence in herself—in her own rulers?

We must acknowledge that the sad state of the Church was one of the determining causes of the Reformation. It is true that in 1528 the clergy had been recalled to their duty by the great Synod of the province of Sens, which was held at Paris. But the concordat of 1516 continued to bear hateful fruits, because the weakness of the Sovereign Pontiffs[1] defended it ill against the capricious interpretations of the kings. Until the end of the religious wars ecclesiastical benefices were filled with laymen, soldiers, and male and female favourites. Households were set up in bishops' houses and even in abbeys among the religious, to the great scandal of the people.[2] The witty captain, Pierre de Bourdeille, was abbot of Brontôme; Bussy d'Amboise, the most successful duellist of his time, was called abbot of Bourgeuil; the fierce Montluc possessed an abbey at Sens; du Guast, who exercised great influence over Henry III., received from His Majesty the bishoprics of Grenoble and Amiens as a reward for his services: he sold the one for thirty thousand livres to a young lady of the court, and the other for forty thousand to the son of the Seigneur d'Avenson. The bishopric of Cornouailles was made over as dowry to a young girl: others were entrusted to children fifteen years old. We may say with Ronsard to:

> "I know not what exquisites, . . .
> Perfumed and slashed courtiers and gallants,
>
> Huntsmen and falconers."[3]

[1] Except under Saint Pius V.

[2] See the facts cited by Forneron, *Les ducs de Guise*, vol. ii. p. 205, from the *Mémoires* of l'Estoile and Saulx-Tavannes.

[3] Ronsard, *Discours sur les misères de notre temps.* Quoted by

Many of the bishops were politicians; others lived like great lords, amiable and cultured; moreover—and we do not say this by way of reproach—they were remarkably tolerant towards the persons with whom they came in contact. Two bishops[1] restrained Francis I. for a long time from striking a blow at the Waldenses. They were a little too lax in the matter of doctrine and very negligent in the exercise of their functions. For the most part they troubled neither to preach the divine word to the faithful, nor to have it preached: for many years the heretics seemed to have the monopoly of the ministry of the pulpit, and this was, as is commonly admitted, the most active agent in their progress until the reign of Charles IX.

The most zealous and capable prelate was the Cardinal Charles de Lorraine—that Archbishop of Rheims who was for nearly thirty years the real head of the French Church. Unfortunately, he joined an immoderate liking for pleasure, intrigue, and power with his sense of episcopal duty, and debased himself by becoming the acknowledged flatterer of Diane de Poitiers.[2]

Moreover, the French bishops were not agreed as to what line of conduct they should follow. The opposition between the Cardinals de Lorraine and de Tournon became apparent at the time of the earliest troubles. This became much worse when the death of Henry III. made a heretic prince the lawful heir

Perrand, *Revue des Cours littéraires.* January 1870. *Cf.* De Meaux, *Les luttes religieuses,* p. 47.

[1] P. Duchâtel, the king's chaplain, and Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras. Cardinal Charles de Lorraine, himself, long exercised a wide tolerance.

[2] De Meaux, *Les luttes religieuses,* pp. 48, 49.

to the throne of France. The bishops created by the concordat found themselves at a loss between allegiance to the king, the interests of the Church, and the commands of the Holy See. According to several trustworthy historians, one hundred bishops out of a hundred and eighteen had recognised the Protestant king before the end of 1589.[1] We have reason to believe that this figure is exaggerated, but it is certain that a large majority of the episcopate declared in favour of Henry IV. long before his conversion. The Cardinals de Vendôme, de Lenoncourt, and de Gondi joined his partisans;[2] the first two took part in his councils and worked actively in his cause. You know how, in concurrence with them, the Bishops of Mans, Angers, Chartres, Nantes, Beauvais, and Bayeux, assembled at Chartres and declared that the *Monitoire* which the Pope had published was null and invalid, because he was "ill-informed of the state of affairs"; and how, addressing "true Catholics and good Frenchmen," they asked the latter to pray with them for the king's conversion and the peace of the kingdom.[3] The Bishop of Chartres was supposed to be one of those who drew up the form of oath which the king was to take. At Autun the clergy remained faithful to the king, whereas the magistrates pronounced themselves in favour of the League. At Paris, even at the close of the terrible siege of 1590, the canons, following their bishop's example, could hardly disguise their

[1] This is the estimate adopted by the conscientious Poirson, in his *Histoire d'Henri IV.*, vol. i. p. 157; and he submits proofs.

[2] See the letter of 10th February 1590 of the Cardinals de Vendôme and de Lenoncourt to the legate, quoted by l'Epinois, p. 397. Gregory XIV. ordered these three cardinals to abandon the king's cause, but without success.

[3] Letter of 21st September 1591, quoted by l'Epinois, p. 508.

royalist sympathies.[1] Finally, four prelates agreed to countersign the edict of July 1591, which granted free exercise of religion to the Protestants. This was the Edict of Nantes—a renewal of that of 1561, which guaranteed free exercise to both religions. The vice-legate asked himself if these four prelates ought not to be replaced in the government of their churches.

Is it surprising that in many places the Catholic populace dared to rise against its pastors? The Bishop of Orleans was called "a traitor and an evil-doer" in all the pulpits of his episcopal town; the Bishop of Auxerre saw the people stirred up against him by the Father-Guardian of the Franciscans; and the Bishop of Châlons was compelled to flee from the inhabitants, who had been roused to riot by the governor himself.

The civil magistrates, and especially the parliaments, had at first shown both zeal and energy in the persecution of heresy. The parliament of Paris had given the signal in 1525, and had, so to say, surpassed itself by publishing that extraordinary decree of 1561 which authorised the people to massacre on the spot those who were caught in the act of plundering the churches. The parliament of Aix in 1540 pronounced the atrocious sentence of extermination against the Waldenses. Nevertheless, as the heretics continued to increase, the tribunals charged to condemn them were not sufficient for their task in thirty years' time; moreover, they wearied of their labour. Their disputes with the ecclesiastical authorities had enfeebled the work of suppression and weakened their zeal. The first words in favour of toleration were heard in the parliament of Paris when that assembly saw itself subordinated, as far as proceedings for

[1] Letter of the vice-legate to the Pope, January 1591.

heresy were concerned, to the three grand inquisitors appointed by the Pope.[1]

For eight years the magistracy and the government were directed by Michel de l'Hospital, who, under pretext of toleration, indirectly favoured Protestantism, towards which he was drawn by tender family ties as much as by inner leanings. His ideas of theology were strange, for he conceived a system of toleration in the form of a compromise between the two religions; defeated in this, he dreamt of a state religion which should comprise only those dogmas which were equally admitted by Catholics and Protestants. It was but a vain imagination, but it doubled the boldness of the innovators; they looked upon Catholicism as already half disabled.[2]

A little later,[3] the duc d'Alençon and his "politicians" rendered similar services to those of the reformed religion, though their motives were not so high.

According to the very apposite remark of the Marshal de Tavannes, all the authorities in the times of the wars of religion went either too far or not far enough; they were very changeable and never completely carried out their resolves; therefore, they made themselves hated, but did not succeed in inspiring fear.

Even the Guises were always afraid of their agents. Had they been content to rely frankly upon the populace, and to arm it, they would have been masters of the situation, but, like the king, "they feared and

[1] This bull of Paul IV. was, however, never strictly executed.

[2] The edict which he introduced to the assembly of Saint-Germain was drawn up in this strain. By the edict of 1562, he marked out a sort of doctrinal field which was to be given over to the Protestant preachers.

[3] In 1574.

believed that the people would form a republic." They preferred to call in foreigners, and in the end the foreigners were their ruin. These party leaders, though much superior to the last Valois, were neither in virtue nor genius worthy of the tremendous and almost sublime post which Providence seemed to have allotted them. François de Guise, a hero, and the one great man in the princely family of the house of Lorraine, died a victim to Protestant fanaticism, without having been able to serve the Church as he had served his country. His son Henri le Balafré was too rash in action, and too wavering in council; the Cardinal Louis de Lorraine was too little worthy of respect; and the duc de Mayenne was too timid and slow. All three had so many human and culpable passions mingled with their devotion to the Church that they were unworthy of becoming the saviours of Catholicism; they were but her champions with more or less interested motives.[1]

Finally, though the Catholics might have powerful armies and good generals, when the royal whim did not furnish them with indifferent ones, they never profited by their victories; politics deprived them of their fruits until, in the time of Henry IV., the military power and talent passed over completely to their adversaries.

When the Catholics were thus disabled from taking advantage of the considerable powers which seemed to be at their disposal, the Protestants constituted a party marvellously well organised for attack and

[1] M. de Meaux says of Henri de Guise: "He was too busy playing a fine part to serve a great cause well. He thought he saw a crown within his reach, and under the appearance of a subtle policy he hid the vacillation of a soul which was neither lofty enough to forego the desire of it, nor strong enough to seize it." *Les luttes religieuses au XVI^e siècle*, p. 216.

defence. As the eminent historian M. de Meaux very aptly remarks, the more they felt scattered and foreign in the midst of a Catholic people, the more the national genius and institutions closed all doors against them, and the more they combined with each other, so much the more they became accustomed to rely upon themselves alone.[1] They had a political as well as a religious government; they exercised absolute authority over the towns and provinces of which they had possessed themselves, and levied taxes to defray the expenses of worship and of the war;[2] they elected protectors, and finally they saw the king himself at their head. They formed thus a most enterprising republic in the bosom of a state in which everything was loose and tottering. Animated with an unusual spirit of independence, they were preserved from anarchy by the imminence of the perils that threatened them, and they were maintained in the necessary cohesion by the very mass of the adversaries who pressed upon them.

They had a single idea: to possess themselves of power and substitute their beliefs for those of the majority. They had men—Condé, Coligny, Duplessis-Mornay, la Noue, d'Aubigné—who might have been great citizens in different times, as in these they were, by reason of their enlightenment and perseverance, excellent party leaders. They had allies: within, many malcontents who supported their enterprises, sometimes under one name sometimes under another;[3]

[1] *Les luttes religieuse en France*, p. 106.

[2] In 1572 they levied contributions to the amount of eight hundred thousand livres, which they could have doubled; they were able to place in the field in a month as many troops as the king could in four.

[3] Memoirs of the times (Saulx-Tavannes, Castelnau, etc.) are

without, their co-religionists who entered into all their plots;[1] they held considerable and compact portions of French territory, that is to say, so many citadels in which they could take refuge and whence they could make opportune attacks.[2] In short, their power in troubled times was immense, and they hesitated at nothing; and although they brought the art of seeming martyrs to a high perfection, they were the instigators of every violence.[3] The deeds of fanaticism which the Protestants committed everywhere, their vandalism, which respected neither the most beautiful nor the most cherished images, and destroyed in a day the work of centuries, provoked the Catholics and led to the first acts of repression. It was they who began the Civil War in 1562,[4] and, by their untimely and needless assaults in 1567, rendered all good faith and peace-making ineffectual for years.[5] At this epoch, they were the first—as Voltaire points out—to justify political murder and regicide; long before the preachers of the League had hinted at the possibility of the murder of Henry III., the Calvinist pastors had urged the murder of Catherine de Medici and Charles IX.; the vindications of Poltrot de Méré preceded those of

unanimous as to the part played by the "*malcontents*" under François II., Charles IX., and Henri III.

[1] English and Germans. In 1574 Condé, who succeeded in escaping, negotiated the alliance between Johann-Casimir, son of the Elector Palatine, and the malcontents and French Calvinists.

[2] In 1560, Nîmes, Montpellier, etc., became formidable Calvinist strongholds; also the domains of the Houses of Bourbon and Albret.

[3] Anterior to the massacre of Vassy, there were assaults, together with pillage and slaughter, made by the Protestants at Castres, Lavaur, and Montpellier.

[4] Manifesto of the Prince de Condé.

[5] La Ferrière, *La 2e guerre civile, la paix de Longjumeaux. Rev. des questions historiques*, vol. xxxvii.

Jacques Clément by twenty-six years; the ministers proclaimed from the pulpit that that wretch had acted by "divine inspiration," and extolled him as a hero, a martyr, and a saint. That Protestant hand introduced the horrid custom of assassination into the war; and they were Protestant lips that first glorified it.[1]

Finally it was the Protestants who, after long premeditation,[2] brought foreigners into the kingdom, and that not merely as auxiliary forces, as did the generals of the king or the League. The duc d'Aumale writes: "Neither the papal auxiliaries nor the concourse of Spanish troops that had just entered Gascony and Paris had been paid with ceded territory. And then to open the portal of France to the English! To abandon to those old enemies a corner of the soil of that fatherland which they had laid waste for a hundred years! To deliver up to them the mouth of the Seine, when they had hardly quitted Calais!"[3]

What a difference between Guise and Condé, between the Catholics and the Huguenots! As soon as François de Guise heard of the landing of the English at Havre he made offers of peace to the prince, promising him free and peaceful exercise of the reformed religion throughout the kingdom, if he would agree to the union of their forces in order to expel "the old enemies of the crown." The Protestants refused.[4]

Under the pretext of punishing the enemies of God they began to hate their very native land,

[1] See Labitte, *The preachers of the League*, p. 55; and *Recueil de poésies calvinistes* (1550-1560), published by P. Tasbé, correspondent of the Institute, Rheims, 1866.

[2] Hector de la Ferrière, *La Normandie à l'étranger*, chap. i., proves the fact of this long premeditation.

[3] *Histoire des Princes de Condé*, vol. i. p. 161.

[4] Forneron, *Les ducs de Guise*, vol. i. p. 354.

borrowing for their self-deception and encouragement the fiercest songs of the old biblical poesy:[1]

"Fille de Babylon, race ingratte et maudicte,
Heureux qui te rendra le mal que tu nous faics,
Et balançant l'injure â l'égal de l'atteinte,
Ira d'entre tes bras tes petits arracher,
Et, de leur sang pollu rendant la terre teinte,
Froisser leur tendres os encontre le rocher."

Neither the *émigrés* of the Revolution nor the persecuted Catholics, thank God, adopted such a tone.

It is easy to realise that the Protestants, fired with such fanaticism and benefiting by such perfect organisation, would, in spite of their small number, be able to take the offensive against the Catholic body, and to count upon that ultimate destruction of it which they achieved in part wherever they obtained the mastery. History shows us that such minorities often involve the most imposing majorities in similar destruction.

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The Catholics would be assured of victory only when they too should form themselves into a party.[2]

[1] Psalm cxxxvi. 8, 9, *Douai Version*: "O daughter of Babylon, miserable: blessed shall he be who shall repay thee thy payment which thou hast paid us. Blessed he that shall take and dash thy little ones against the rock." The quotation in the text is from a metrical version similar to that in use in the English and Scottish Presbyterian churches.—*Translator.*

[2] Gaspard de Saulx-Tavannes gives excellent expression to this idea when he says that the events of 1567 led him "to think that integrity was as well able to supply good men with means of preservation as wickedness was to provide rebels with the means of attacking them; that the Huguenots could not be more devoted to their party than the Catholics to the old religion, and that those who upheld them with their lives could use their wealth to support the king"; thereupon he "resolved to pit intellect against intellect, and league against league." *Mémoires,* Petitot collection, 1st series, vol. xxiv. p. 450.

However, a distinct defining of Catholic opinion was necessary to the formation of a Catholic party. Its constitution and direction was the work of the best of the secular clergy and especially of two great religious Orders, the Jesuits and the Capuchins.

Protestants had for forty years past used preaching as a means of increasing the number of their adherents when the Catholic clergy decided to answer them with the same method. Michel de Castelnau, in his Memoires, gives a useful account of the time and manner of this little revolution; it was in 1562, just when the outburst of civil war had opened men's eyes to the true state of affairs. "In these times," he says, "as many things came to pass by example, or by imitation, or by desire of improvement, the bishops or doctors, theologians, parish priests, religious, and other Catholic pastors, began to consider these new preachers who were so zealous and ardent in the advancement of their religion, and they took thenceforth more pains in the care of their flocks and the discharge of their duties, and some began to study the Sacred Scriptures in emulation of the Protestant ministers who attracted the people from all parts: and fearing lest these same ministers should have an advantage over them by reason of their sermons and that they should thereby attract Catholics, they began also to preach more often than they had been wont, warning their audience to beware of the heresies of the new teachers, under pain of incurring the wrath of God by departing from His true Church."[1]

In the same year when the posting of the disgraceful placards against the Sacrifice of the Mass and the Sacrament of the Altar upon the very door of the

[1] *Mémoires* of Castelnau, 1562. Petitot collection, 1st series, vol. xxxiii. p. 158.

royal apartments had determined Francis I. to repress the insolent attempts of heresy, God gave to His Church that powerful and holy company which was to teach Catholics to realise their position and to assert themselves.[1] Minds were enlightened, beliefs confirmed, and hearts fortified. Those who were settled in their convictions and boldly resolved to support them were enlisted; the timid and hesitating were passed over; they went to swell the ranks of the political party, but ceased to paralyse the action of the determined Catholics. The clergy received firm and secure government; the *curés* of poor parishes, the pious priests, saw whence true Christian reform was to come, and were no longer liable, as in the time of Henry II., to stray into apostasy. The continuance of the same abuses still roused their indignation under Henry III., but thenceforth there was a system of Catholic government in which their place was clearly marked.

The mendicant friars, especially the Capuchins, "went through the towns, villages, and private houses to admonish each and all," and to urge the Catholics to defend their faith strenuously. "And they showed the people that all Christians for fifteen or sixteen hundred years had held the Catholic Faith which the Protestants were trying to overthrow and wrest from them, and that it was impossible that so many kings, princes, and great persons should have erred so long and have been deprived of the grace of God and the blood of Jesus Christ, for to say so was to blaspheme against His goodness and to accuse Him of injustice."[2] Besides doctrine they preached the

[1] On the part played by the Jesuits consult Forneron, *Les ducs de Guise*, vol. ii. p. 207.

[2] *Mémoires* of Castelnau, *ibid.* p. 159.

reform of morals, and penance: they were readily believed because they themselves set the example. Public opinion was not deceived: we learn from the legate Caëtani's report to Sixtus the Fifth that the preservation of religion in France was attributed to the exemplary lives of the Jesuits and Capuchins.[1]

Assuredly we do not pretend to justify every utterance from the Catholic pulpits during the last sad years of the sixteenth century. Time after time they rang with atrocious calumnies and criminal instigations, which led too often to regrettable consequences.[2] At times of crisis it was the revolutionary passions which spoke and came into action: inflammatory discourses gave rise to horrible excesses.

At Orleans, three years before the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, the people "roused by the preachers" massacred the Protestants, who took refuge in the prisons, without distinction of sex or age. They were unable to force the door of one of the prisons, so they set fire to it, thus causing two hundred and eighty of the unhappy victims to perish by suffocation or burning. But should even such abominations make us forget the work of doctrinal and moral improvement which was accomplished in the heart of French Catholicism by the orthodox preachers? I admit that they produced fanatics, but fanaticism was temporary, and the safety of the true religion was guaranteed for centuries, because they had also and above all regenerated true Catholics.

The Protestants' example of local violence, which the popular imagination likened to the barbarous treatment Elizabeth of England meted out to

[1] In a letter dated 1589 quoted by l'Epinois, *La Ligue et les Papes*, p. 364.

[2] See Labitte, *Les Prédicateurs de la Ligue.*

Catholics, was generally the determining cause of the first partial or local *unions* entered upon by the ecclesiastics, nobles, and citizens, for the purpose of "defending the honour of God and of the Holy Roman Catholic Church."[1] At first, the movement was planned and nearly always directed by the gentry or by persons of importance.[2] It became popular and general when the death of the Duc d'Anjou made Jeanne d'Albret's son heir to the throne. The people's faith was roused, and, to prevent their being governed by a Protestant king, they formed spontaneously, in Paris and many other towns, unions which, when they were combined, constituted the *League*. The condition of membership was that one should be neither a Protestant nor a political factionist, but should ardently wish to defend the Catholic Faith. In each town a council was to be in communication with the general council in Paris, to collect funds, and to recruit soldiers.[3] According to the primitive plan, even the rural parish priests were to draw up a list of all their parishioners who were able to carry arms. A sole head was to govern the union. The Pope and the King of Spain would give their aid. If the king were to die without children, all the troops were to assemble within a fortnight between Paris and Orleans in order to protect the States-General

[1] The League was pre-eminently an association for lawful defence. "As the Huguenots were preserved by union, in like manner the Catholics had no means of preservation save by uniting themselves. . . ." Letters of union to be sent to the whole of Christendom, January 1589. *Memories de la Ligue*, vol. iii. p. 167.

[2] *Cf.* l'Epinois, *La Ligue et les Papes*, pp. 5-7. Thus the League of Picardy had a president assisted by a council consisting of six gentlemen of the province and three syndics, one for the towns, one for the ecclesiastics, and one for the people.

[3] See the projects of March-April 1587, in l'Epinois, p. 72.

which would be convoked to elect a Catholic king.[1]

It is superfluous to relate here how the League, which at first respected the sovereign's right, soon became the instrument of the Guises, and was gradually led into principles and practices not in the least consonant with the traditional monarchy. The day of the Barricades and the murder of Henri de Guise caused the League to repudiate Henry III. irrevocably; the accession of Henry IV. induced it to renounce that which had been accepted for centuries as a fundamental law of the state.

An extraordinary change of attitude took place. The Protestants, who had sustained quasi-republican theories of an extremely liberal and democratic character against Henry II. and Charles IX., now adopted with enthusiasm that theory which was held dear by those in countries where the temporal power was on their side, namely that slavish and pagan dogma of absolute passive submission to the lawful sovereign, though he be a Nero. The Catholics, on the contrary, embraced the doctrines which the Protestants had abandoned.

Indeed, if resistance was ever lawful, if rupture with the hereditary monarchy and the establishment of a new dynasty were ever justified, it was at the death of the last Valois. Except for a legal fiction which might have been ignored in a matter of importance to the whole community the Bourbons were related no less distantly than the Guises to the house which had just become extinct. Moreover, according to the traditional custom, it was not only necessary

[1] L'Epinois, *op. cit.* p. 71.

M. de Meaux explains it at some length, *Les luttes religieuses*, etc., p. 215 *et seq.*

that the heir to the throne of France should be his predecessor's next-of-kin in the male line, but also that he should be a Catholic.[1] Since the time of Clovis there had been Carlovingian kings and Capetian kings, but there had never been a heretic king. If a prolonged estrangement between the tendencies of a reigning family and the social and political state of a nation justifies in the eyes of every intelligent man a change of dynasty such as France has twice accomplished, how is it that, at this epoch especially, the religious opposition of the people to the heir to the throne did not suffice to authorise the transfer of the crown? This rule prevailed in England as late as the eighteenth century, and Protestant writers find nothing amiss in it, as far as I am aware. Now, not only was Henri of Navarre a relapsed heretic, but there was every reason to fear that, once master of the state, he would enforce his belief upon his subjects, after the manner of other Protestant princes: was not this expected of him by most of his co-religionists?

Doubtless he amused himself by repeating, and the Catholics of his party repeated after him "that he would have himself instructed, but that he would not be driven to Mass with blows."[2] In fact, however, he deferred this instruction from day to day, and employed every subterfuge in order to avoid a necessity which he thought too grievous.

"My sword," said he, "is of more value in government than the Cardinal's ritual. The fulminations of the Roman consistory will not melt it."

Nevertheless, this was nearly the case; if Henri of

[1] The coronation oath exacted a profession of the Catholic Faith.

[2] The words of the Marshal de Biron to the legate Caëtani, March 1590, quoted by l'Epinois, p. 417.

Navarre had not become a Catholic, he would never have been King of France, and he would not have become a Catholic if the armed resistance of the French had not compelled him. The king did not conquer his kingdom: the kingdom conquered its king.

In the eyes of all Catholics our glorious Paris has an imperishable title to honour in that, amid these formidable circumstances which placed the future of French Catholicism at stake, she played the part of head and leader of France. There are some who are too ready to laugh at certain episodes of the five years' heroic resistance of the capital against the Protestant armies. In situations of extreme gravity the sentiment of the ludicrous disappears, or rather, nothing is any longer ridiculous. Moreover, they affect ignorance above all of the fact that, although there was in Paris then, as at all times, a revolutionary scum capable of the most theatrical and ferocious demonstrations, and of still worse forms of violence, the mass of the populace was, nevertheless, of admirable dispositions of faith, piety, and resignation. This great city, the most fearless in the kingdom, was also the most deeply religious. Michel de Castelnau remarks that from the beginning of the religious wars while the churches in many places were closed as soon as Mass was said, in Paris they had to be left open all day long, for they were frequented at all hours: Masses were said until midday and after noon pious congregations succeeded one another until evening "with the offering of candles and other gifts." Since piety can hardly exist without charity, no city had more hospitals and foundations of practical utility. In this matter as in so many others, Paris was the admiration "of

strangers and people of all kinds."[1] In 1590 Villeroi faithfully echoed the testimony of Castelnau: "We can say truly that God is as well served there as in any part of the world."[2] Thus the conduct of the Parisians from the assassination of Henri de Guise until the conversion of Henry IV. was determined by true convictions and not by a transient mania which was skilfully exploited by the fanatical and the ambitious. They had been long equipped by prayer to sustain, without garrison and almost without provisions, the horrors of a siege which contemporaries could liken only to that of Jerusalem. The gentlemen who surrounded the King of Navarre did not understand "that a crowd of porters, journeymen, labourers, and effeminates could take it into their heads to oppose them."[3] These labourers and effeminates—as a historian has eloquently said—decided, nevertheless, the fate of France and of religion as far as such a work is dependent upon the efforts of man.[4]

These are sublime acts and sentiments which the wearied citizens who wrote the *Satyre Ménippée* were not capable of understanding. They express the general indifference with good sense and often with literary merit, but they do not rise to a single generous idea. The religious sentiment, which, it is true, they had grievously abused, touches no chord in their souls; even the patriotic sentiment seems but subsidiary to the interest of, and desire for, tranquillity. These citizens are the worthy fathers of

[1] *Mémoires* of Castelnau, 1562. Petitot collection, 1st series, vol. xxxiii. p. 169.

[2] *Mémoires* de Villeroi. Petitot collection, 1st series, vol. xliv. p. 194.

[3] These expressions are borrowed from de Thou, bk. xcix.

[4] De Meaux, *Les luttes religieuses*, etc., p. 131.

those who in 1815 welcomed the disaster of Waterloo. As writers, their partiality is extreme and the talent very uneven. Although the first effusions may not be devoid of relish and entertainment, the most famous, that of Daubray, is nothing but an endless rhapsody, a cumbersome and deceitful compilation of history, interrupted here and there with declamations in imitation of the classics. If it were written against the Huguenots it would attract, to a certainty, fewer admirers. Of half Protestant and half Gallican inspiration (as is, indeed, the whole work, whatever be said to the contrary) it has given many historians and critics an opportunity of attacking Catholicism under the hypocritical masks of patriotism and reason. Was not this sufficient reason for their proclaiming it a masterpiece "the place of which is assigned for ever between Rabelais and Pascal"?[1]

I do not wish, however, to imply that civil war was not to be put down. Civil war had long assumed an atrocious character, and degenerated into brigandage, "an inexhaustible source," says Castelnau, "of every wickedness, of thefts, robberies, murders, incests, parricides, and other vices as heinous as can be imagined; for which there was neither curb nor any punishment. And the worst was that in this war the arms that had been taken up in defence of religion annihilated all religion and piety, and produced like a corrupt and putrid corpse, the vermin and pestilence of innumerable atheists."[2] France, divided against herself, no longer played any

[1] This oft-repeated formula is from Ch. Labitte, at the end of the introduction of his edition of the *Satyre Ménippée*. Paris, 1841.

[2] *Mémoires* of Castelnau, year 1563. Petitot collection, vol. xxxiii. p. 295.

but a wretched part in European affairs. Foreigners became her masters; the English and the Germans dictated their conditions to the King of Navarre; and the Spanish, on their own confession, sought only to foster the war, unless a fortunate circumstance should afford them the opportunity of ending it by placing the daughter of their sovereign on the throne of France.

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The restoration of the royal power, either by the election of a Catholic prince, or by the conversion of Henry IV., was the only remedy for these evils. The latter alternative was much more desirable than the former, provided that it was clinched by guarantees that assured its irrevocability. The party of the King of Navarre, in fact, was so strong that the election of any other prince would certainly entail a prolongation of the civil struggles, the possibility of a division of the kingdom, and, in either case, permanent foreign intervention. How was Henry IV. to be expelled from the provinces he occupied? How was the natural authority which he held in virtue of his birth to be transferred to another? This was the plea which the Catholics attached to the King of Navarre, and especially the nobles, continually put forward. Immediately after the death of Henry III., the Duke de Nevers, who was nevertheless half in sympathy with the League, begged his kinsman Cardinal de Gonzaga to pave the way for the success of the Luxembourg mission, which was sent to Rome by Henry IV. "It is impossible," said he, "to hope for good except by the king's conversion. This is the true way, the shortest, and the surest, to pacify the kingdom and re-establish the Catholic religion." Cardinal de

Vendôme in a letter addressed to the Sovereign Pontiff in 1590 [1] corroborates these words by the most explicit statements, and the legate Caëtani was constrained, in spite of his strong predilection in favour of the League, to avow that "if Navarre gives the smallest sign of Catholicism, the people are so far disposed to accept him that, humanly speaking, it will be impossible to deprive him of the kingdom." [2]

Being very favourably impressed by this advice, as well as by certain words of Henry IV. which had been reported to him, Sixtus V. refused to break with the Catholics of the royal party. He was even ready, if the prince asked him, to reconcile him to the Church.[3] The Spanish ambassador to Rome could no longer restrain his anger. "We have understood," cried the Pope, "he wishes us to excommunicate the supporters of the King of Navarre, and we have a mind to excommunicate *him* and expel him from Rome." [4]

It needed the evident bad faith of Henry IV. to modify these inclinations of the Holy Father and to turn public opinion in his own kingdom against him. The growth of the Spanish party after the battle of Ivry was astonishing. Deputations were sent to the Escurial from Languedoc, from Burgundy, and from Brittany; at Amiens it was said openly that they

[1] 26th April. Letter cited by l'Epinois, p. 427.

[2] Caëtani to Sixtus V., 15th February 1590, quoted by l'Epinois, p. 396.

[3] Cf. *Instructions de Sixte-Quint à Caëtani*, 1589, l'Epinois, pp. 353, 409. On 14th January 1590 Piney-Luxembourg protests to Sixtus V. that the king was anxious to be converted: "Assure the Pope upon my word as king, that I wish to be, to prove myself, and to die the eldest son of the Roman Catholic Church." L'Epinois, p. 385.

[4] L'Epinois, p. 409. March 1590.

would give themselves to Philip III. rather than accept the *Navarrais*; Grenoble sent for the Spanish troops of the Duke de Terranova, and Paris sent one of her sheriffs to implore the help of the Duke de Parma.

But in 1592, after three more years of warfare without decisive result, all began to look once more towards the King of Navarre. The Duke de Nevers renewed his entreaties to Clement VIII.; the Duke de Mayenne entered into secret negotiations with his adversary through the mediation of Villeroi;[1] finally even the citizens of Paris, whose councils were frequently held, decided to beg the lieutenant-general to send a deputation to the prince for the purpose of entreating him to become a Catholic. Mayenne confined himself to answering that he was about to convoke the States-General: they met at Paris in January 1593.

Few assemblies have been more dishonoured in history, and with greater injustice. The character of true national representation has been denied it, although it included deputies of all the orders in considerable numbers—forty-nine from the clergy, twenty-four from the nobility, and fifty-five from the Third State, and from all the provinces except Languedoc.[2] Those elected for this government had shrunk from the dangers of the journey and the threats of the king. Was it not in any case more weighty than those assemblies which, sanctioning the plots and recognising the pretensions of Philippe the Long and Philippe de Valois, had, less than three

[1] The history of these negotiations may be found in l'Epinois, pp. 569-577.

[2] At the States of Blois in 1576 there were: Clergy 104, Nobility 72, Commonalty 150.

centuries before, excluded women and afterwards their descendants from the crown of France? The deputies have been mocked. They were men of considerable worth, generally capable, and of great piety.[1] All authority has been refused them, and yet the fact is that they had hardly met when they appeared to be invested with the right of supreme arbitrament. After the first session the royalists asked to make terms with them and their letter was signed by a secretary of Henry IV. In spite of his former protests this prince, like the King of Spain, agreed to refer the dispute to the elected representatives of France.

These representatives behaved like patriots. Their relations with the Duke de Feria, the Spanish ambassador, were always characterised by perfect dignity. The Bishop of Senlis, one of the most ardent Leaguers, did not hesitate to represent to him with the utmost vehemence that France was determined never to be governed by a foreign prince. Finally, Desportes, another ardent Leaguer, admits that the triumph of the King of Navarre was due to "the persistence of the Spanish in wanting the Infanta in opposition to our laws."[2]

Good Frenchmen in their conferences with the representatives of Philip II., the delegates of the States-General, were not less good Catholics in their

[1] M. de Meaux is more severe; he says that they were composed of very mediocre elements. The list of deputies and of the districts they represented may be found in *Procès-verbaux des Etats généraux de* 1593, A. Bernard. (Collection des documents inédits.) We note with pleasure that M. Mariéjol, in the *Histoire de France* of Lavisse, expresses a like opinion to ours. "The States," says he, "had a very lofty sense of their dignity, etc. . . ." Vol. iv. p. 368.

[2] Letter of 22nd July 1593, cited by l'Epinois, p. 592.

conferences with the representatives of Henry IV. They gave way upon no point in which principle was involved. Although they agreed to the conferences, they did so on condition that they were held between Catholics only: each deputation was led by an archbishop—the Royalists by the Archbishop of Bourges, and Leaguers by the Archbishop of Lyon.[1] Finally, after mature deliberation, the States informed the king that they definitely refused to treat with him so long as he should not be a Catholic.

Henry IV. bowed to the national will. He assembled his council and declared that it was his intention to send shortly for certain bishops and doctors in order that they might instruct him.

The royalist delegates immediately conveyed the good news to the States, who consented to resume the conferences, and assigned the 17th May for the holding of the first. On the 1st June the president Vetus came on behalf of the Duke de Mayenne to express to the assembly his desire that the King of Navarre should change his religion. On the 13th and 21st the Spanish lost their cause through the very excess of their pretensions; the Archbishop of Lyon and Claude de la Chastre made, in favour of the Salic Law and the *Béarnais*, declarations which, in view of their position in the League, were re-echoed far and wide.[2] The king, on his side, kept his promise; after assisting at a conference between representatives of the two religions, he once more placed himself in the hands of the Catholic prelates

[1] Renand de Beamne and Pierre d'Epinac. The Abbé Richard has thrown much light on the part played by the latter in his important work upon *P. d'Epinac.* (Paris and Lyon, undated.)

[2] On the 20th July Mayenne announced to the Spanish that he was obliged to conclude a truce with the king.

and doctors. The issue was so little doubtful that he had already given all his orders to the end that the coronation ceremony might follow immediately upon the final instruction, which he reserved to be given at Saint-Denis, and the formality of abjuration.[1] At length, on the 25th July, before the Archbishop of Bourges and numerous witnesses, Henry IV. pronounced the decisive words which, in the beautiful phrase of Saint Francis of Sales, "making him a child of the Church, made him the Father of his kingdom."[2]

Catholic France and the Church had conquered.

It would, however, be unjust to look upon the conversion of Henry IV. as nothing but an interested act—the final resource to which that prince was driven by his last military checks, the vacillations of his party, and the assembling of the States. Undoubtedly, Henry IV. understood that it was impossible to conquer the whole of France by force, and that the only means of preventing the election of a rival which was left to him was to become a Catholic, but he was deeply sensible also of the horrible misery and the abyss of ills into which he would plunge the kingdom, should he continue the war, and try to reign in spite of his Protestantism. "What would you have?" he said to one of his co-religionists; "what would you have? If I do not become a Catholic, there will be to-morrow no France." Too enlightened to be without religion, in spite of the disorders of his life, he believed, nevertheless, that

[1] See *Lettres missives.* The coronation did not actually take place until February 1594 at Chartres. The abjuration took place at Saint-Denis the 24th July 1593.

[2] On the *Conversion of Henri IV.* see Yves de La Brière's very interesting pamphlet in the *Science et Religion* collection (1905).

it was possible to save his soul in both communions, and certain ministers of his party confirmed him in this idea. Under the influence of eminent Catholics, especially of Du Perron, he overcame his intimate and tenacious sympathies with the teaching to which he had voluntarily returned in 1576, and adopted the religion of his subjects in good faith. The national sentiment had awakened in him the Catholic sentiment, as it had revived the monarchic sentiment in the Leaguers.

The States-General now terminated their eight months' session. They had accomplished their work and preserved the unity of France without rupture of her fundamental law that the king must be French and the king must be Catholic. If they did not recognise Henry IV. immediately after his conversion, it was because the more than trifling conduct of the prince, which was peculiarly out of place at that grave time, seemed to indicate the necessity for guarantees of sincerity, and especially because Henry IV. could not be considered a true member of the Roman Church so long as he had not received definite and valid absolution from the Sovereign Pontiff.

This absolution was withheld for more than two years—a long delay, and humiliating to the crown of France, a delay, however, that was justified.

Is the Church an open house, whence one departs and whither one enters again at will? Are princes above her laws? Moreover, was it not fitting that when he had done so much harm to Catholicism Henry IV. should furnish the head of the Church with earnest guarantees for the future? How disgraceful and perilous if he had returned to heresy! In fine, could the Holy See honourably abandon

indefinitely a line of conduct that it had adopted only under the unavoidable pressure of circumstances and of imperious duty?[1] It was not gaiety, caprice, or passion that made the Pope a Leaguer. The conscientious historian of *La Ligue et les Papes* has proved this beyond all question: to approve the League it had been necessary for Rome to see in it the only force that was capable of crushing, by its very violence, the violence of the Protestant movement. Again, how carefully had she, at the outset, denounced all rebellion against the sovereign! Even when confronted by a heretical prince, declaring that she would never recognise him, and calling upon the Royalists to abandon him, she did not wish to break off her relations with them. She had always affirmed that France must have an orthodox king, but she had always considered possible and always favoured the return of the Leaguers to the monarchic principle, and that of the Royalists and of the king to the Catholic principle. This is the key to her apparent contradictions, and in this is the constant unity of her policy. "The inability of Sixtus the Fifth's moderation to induce the King of Navarre to be converted was ample justification for Gregory the Fourteenth's warlike endeavours to set the heretical prince aside; and, in like manner, the failure of this military intervention justified a reversion to the conciliatory but firm policy of Clement VIII."[2] Was it to be expected that, at the first sign of submission, Rome should give herself up entirely to the king's interests, and that she should lay aside the only

[1] It is well known that Sixtus V. was much gratified by the treaty of Nemours (1585) because the king had joined the League.

[2] L'Epinois, *La Ligue et les Papes*, p. 664.

weapon which enabled her to safeguard the interests of the faithful and of the Church?[1]

At length, compelled by these pressing considerations, Clement VIII. yielded. The French magistracy and clergy became so incensed that schism seemed imminent;[2] first d'Ossat, then du Perron, submitted adequate reasons and solid promises for the consideration of the Pope; the Jesuits Acquaviva and Toleto took up the king's cause[3]; Saint Philip Neri—not without a smile, I think—commanded Baronius, the Pope's confessor, to tell his penitent that he could not give him absolution unless he in his turn absolved the King of France; the populace of Rome, angered by the Spanish intrigues, insulted the Duke de Sessa's pages, and threatened to set fire to his house. The Holy Father realised that the time had come, and let himself bend.[4] On Sunday, 17th September 1595, the pontifical pardon descended upon the kneeling representatives of the king, and the reconciliation of the royal house of France with the Roman Church was sealed.

France, by her firmness in defence of the faith, deserved to be honoured above all contemporary peoples. Through the preservation of France in the faith, Catholicism had won its cause and secured its empire. A new epoch of power and honour was to open to victorious orthodoxy and to France once more at peace.

[1] This view of the matter was presented by Clement VIII. to the Duke de Nevers, who was sent to Rome by Henry IV.

[2] L'Epinois, *op. cit.* p. 623.

[3] Prat, *Recherches historiques sur la Compagnie de Jésus au temps du P. Cotton*, vol. i. p. 233.

[4] The Abbé Degert, *Le Cardinal d'Ossat, sa vie et ses négociations à Rome.* Paris, 1894.

VI

How did the Catholic Church defend herself against Protestantism?—The characteristics of her own reformation[1]

In the course of the year 1534 three men were to be met in the streets of Paris—where adherents of all parties rubbed elbows, and where the elements of which modern society is composed were in a state of ferment—three men who may be regarded as the embodiment of the three great moral tendencies of their time: they were Calvin for the Protestant Reformation; Rabelais for the Renaissance; and Ignatius Loyola for the Catholic Reformation which was at last about to be accomplished.

The time had come when the Church, recovering her presence of mind in the presence of her enemies, set herself to choose between the good and the evil in the aspirations which the intellectual and religious movement of the century revealed among Christian nations.

[1] Except in the general histories of the Church there is no complete account of the Catholic Reformation of the sixteenth century in French. *Histoire de la Papauté pendant le XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles* (French translation by Chéron) is very good reading; also the *Introduction* to Sixtus V. by M. de Hübner (French translation. Paris, 1882). The short summary by M. Chénon in *l'Histoire générale* by Lavisse and Rambaud, vol. v. chap. i., is very accurate and gives an excellent bibliography. Information on the history of this period may be gathered from works relating to the Council of Trent and from many memoirs and lives of saints. In 1881 Maurenbrecher published at Bonn *Geschichte der Kathol. Reformation.*

What do we perceive when we contemplate this movement in its entirety?

We are confronted by a principle which is destructive of all positive faith, that of free inquiry, which leads either to the rationalistic naturalism of the disciples of the Renaissance, or to the religious individualism of Protestants. In opposition to this principle with which she could make no compromise the Church upheld the principle of authority and proclaimed the excellence of the spirit of sacrifice, of self-renunciation in the most absolute form, that is to say, in the form in which the religious orders conceive it and force themselves to practise it.

A tendency towards mysticism, a great desire for sanctification, for intimate union with our Lord Jesus Christ, this is the loftiest and noblest characteristic in the origin of Protestantism. To the intellectual mysticism which is due to subjective illusions and takes no account of works, the Church opposed true mysticism and true holiness which is in accord with dogma and authority and manifests itself by works, apostleship, and action.

Lastly is seen an almost universal desire for the clergy to reform and to live in a manner more worthy of their holy vocation—a desire that was certainly legitimate but was oppressed very often by violence and the brutal overthrow of the hierarchy and tradition. The Church answered the false reformation by a true one. She became regenerate herself and so regained her dominion over hearts and minds in a great part of Europe and also went forth by her missions to the conquest of new worlds.

Such is the glorious and reassuring spectacle which I invite you to contemplate with me for a brief space.

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The Church, as her first duty, exerts her authority to oppose free inquiry which discusses and argues *ad infinitum*.[1] She asserts this authority with the utmost energy; the Council of Trent as her mouthpiece declares that she is "the pillar and ground of truth" (1 Tim. iii. 15).[2] She speaks in the name of Jesus Christ Himself; see for example how she defines the doctrine of justification. "As certain erroneous sentiments and a doctrine that is entirely contrary to the truth have been spread abroad in these latter days concerning justification . . . the holy Council of Trent . . . has resolved to the honour and glory of Almighty God . . . to set forth for all faithful Christians the true and sound doctrine such as the sun of justice our Lord Jesus Christ taught it. . . ."[3]

All the questions raised by Protestants she answers by distinct and precise definitions which she upholds with her anathema: whosoever does not accept them places himself *ipso facto* beyond the pale of the Church and outside the way of salvation.

She strengthens the character and asserts the rights of her hierarchy. There is a sacerdotal order whatever Protestants pretend to the contrary;[4] every Christian is not a priest; it is not the people, nor the magistrates, nor the secular power, whatever it be, which makes the priest; the ecclesiastical hierarchy

[1] M. Baugenault de Puchesse (Paris, 1870) has given us a useful summary of *the Histoire de concile de Trente*. All the documents relating to the Council are not yet published. Various series of them have been published by Mansi, le Plat, Mendham, Theiner, Calenzio, Von Druffel, Th. Sickel. *Cf.* the histories of Scarpi and of Pallavicini.

[2] Sess. xiii. chap. i.

[3] Sess. vi. Provemium.

[4] Sess. xxiii. de Ordine.

is "an army drawn up in battle array," the bishops who have succeeded to the posts of the Apostles are the chief constituents of this hierarchical order. They are commissioned in the name of the Holy Ghost to govern the Church; they are higher than the priests and in their turn depend upon the Sovereign Pontiff. The necessity of combining to support their supreme head was felt so keenly that in spite of the opposition of the French and Spanish bishops a great number of the Fathers at the Council of Trent followed the Jesuit Lainez, who declared, in speaking of episcopal jurisdiction that "to say that all bishops have received certain powers from Jesus Christ was to deprive the Pope of his privileges as Vicar of Christ and Head of the Church," and who ventured to maintain as probable that "the apostles were established by Saint Peter in the sense that they had received their jurisdiction from him."[1]

Protestants admit no rule of faith but Scripture, but they dispute as to what books compose it and they think fit to interpret it freely: did not Luther call the Epistle of Saint James "an epistle of straw"? The Council of Trent repelled all discrimination between the Sacred Books and drew up an authentic list of them; anathema falls on those who reject either part or all of them, and also on those who interpret them "contrarily to the sense which has been held and is held by Holy Church, or even to the unanimous opinion of the Fathers." No one was to publish a commentary upon them without the necessary preliminary approval of the ecclesiastical authority.[2]

Scripture, however, is not the only source of truth;

[1] *Pallavicini,* bk. xviii. chap. xv.

[2] Sess. iv. *Decretum de canonicis scripturis.*

the Council proclaimed the authority of tradition; not, it is hardly necessary to say, of every ecclesiastical tradition, but of what are called the Apostolical traditions concerning faith and morals. Now the Church is still the guarantee and interpreter of these.[1]

It is the Church's right and duty to maintain the integrity of faith in the world, and consequently not only to warn, but also to correct and punish those who turn aside from sound doctrine. Whence those two great institutions which were destined to sustain so many attacks: the *Roman Inquisition* and the *Index*?

Historically, the Inquisition may be traced back as far as the thirteenth century, but it was not until 1542 that Pope Paul III., by the bull *Licit ab initio* gave it the form and extent which made it a supreme tribunal for the whole Church; it can reach cardinals and bishops as well as plain laymen. Paul III. placed at its head Cardinal Caraffa, who proved pitiless. He began by renting a house in which he installed surgeons and provided chains and instruments of torture. He then proclaimed these four fundamental principles: there must be no delay in matters of faith; no consideration for princes or prelates; no clemency for anyone who seeks protection from the secular power; indefatigable activity in seeking out traces of Calvinism everywhere. When he became Pope Paul IV., Caraffa pursued his course with extreme severity and did not spare such cardinals as Morone and Pole, who had spent their lives in defence of the Church. Pius IV., Pius V., Sixtus V. were to complete the work begun by Paul III. and to make the congregation of the Inquisition,

[1] The same decree.

or the Holy Office, the highest authority of the Roman Curia.

The Church has always condemned heretical books and we know that from the earliest days of her history she has delivered them over to the flames. The discovery of printing, however, brought about a remarkable change which rendered such methods futile. In their eighteenth session the Fathers of the Council of Trent commissioned certain of their number to revise the rules relating to the prohibition of bad books and to complete the list which the Congregation of the Inquisition had drawn up some years before (1559) by order of Paul IV. In 1564, Pius IV. in the bull *Dominici gregis* promulgated the list of the Index together with its general rules, and added a clause rendering them obligatory all over the world three months after their promulgation. His successor Saint Pius V. formerly erected the *Congregation of the Index*, which thus became a permanent institution, which, together with that of the *Holy Office*, was charged to watch over the integrity of doctrine.

Such are the acts by which the Church, in a time of universal licence, had the courage, or if you like the audacity, to proclaim the rights of authority in matters of belief and opinion. But she was well aware that it did not suffice to define the truth, and she knew especially that it was not enough to repress the outward manifestations of error. How then was she to reach the very source of that spirit of independence and excessive individualism which produces, and is afterwards increased by, free inquiry? By the restoration and diffusion of religious life, the living visible protest against that spirit.

It is a strange thing that the religious life was near

being suppressed almost to temporary extinction by the government of the Church, which was influenced by the presence of public opinion and the existence of too many abuses. In 1538 a commission of cardinals called together by Paul III. proposed to suppress the monasteries or at least to put a temporary check upon the recruiting of their forces by forbidding them to receive novices. Once the old members were gone an attempt would be made to form a new generation in the spirit of the primitive rule. In 1540 Cardinal Guiddaccioni, who was deputed to examine the first constitutions of the Society of Jesus, was strongly opposed to the order. "In the beginning," he said, "all orders are full of fervour, but they relax in time and when they grow old the harm they do to the Church is greater than the good they did her at first.[1]

Passing events dimmed the supernatural vision of these cardinals. Thanks be to God, Paul III. was not convinced; better than his councillors he knew where to find the antidote to the evils of the age. The years which followed the outburst of the Protestant Reformation and its early progress witnessed also the reformation of ancient orders, and the creation of new orders, which were the true means of the restoration of the Roman Church. This period of preparation for Catholic restoration began with the founding (in 1524) of the *Clerks Regular* or Theatins by Saint Cajitanus Thienæus and the Franciscan reform of the Capuchins in 1528, and ended with the reform of the Carmelites which was carried out by Saint Theresa in 1562. But the dominating feature of this period was the rise and progress of the Society of Jesus.

[1] Quoted by Joly, *Saint Ignace de Loyola*, p. 150.

Now what is to be seen in all these reforms and new foundations, if not the most decided protest against that which was the very spirit of the *century*, against the merely natural life, irresponsible life, pagan life, and the pride of intellect?

Look at the Capuchins as described by the Protestant Menzel, so pure, so energetic, so disinterested, and of such austere life "who went on foot from one place to another; who were at home in the lowliest cottage; who, inasmuch as they renounced all the pleasures and conveniences of earthly life, bore witness among the poor to the truth of the Gospel promise that theirs is the kingdom of heaven. The doctrine that the Christian should crucify the flesh and look forward only to the celestial land because he is a stranger and pilgrim on earth, seems much more convincing in the mouth of a bearded monk with bare feet who sleeps upon a plank and wears nothing save his habit—not even a shirt."

Saint Theresa and Saint John of the Cross, like Matteo Bassi, the founder of the Capuchins, knew well that it was precisely this teaching which had to be restored.

The primitive Carmelite rule is but a short summary of the great monastical precepts concerning poverty, chastity, and obedience.[1]

It offers them solitude and silence for their guides and adds these three directions, which constitute the distinctive character of the order:

1. That the religious remain in their cells or near them, meditating day and night upon the law of God, and watching in prayer, so long as they are not employed in other lawful occupations; so much for prayer.

[1] *Histoire de Ste Thérèse d'après les Bollandistes*, etc., by a Carmelite Nun, ed. 1882, vol. i. p. 345 *sqq.*

2. From the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross until Easter Sunday the religious shall fast every week-day, except when sickness or other lawful cause offers good reason for not fasting, for necessity has no law. They shall never eat flesh meat, except as a remedy for some sickness or weakness; so much for penance.

3. That the religious work with their hands; that their labour be as unceasing as their prayer. "Work in silence," says the rule, "this way is good, follow in it"; so much for labour.

The rule ends with these words: "If anyone do more, God will reward him for it when He comes to judge the world. Nevertheless, use discretion, which is the great rule of virtue."

If anyone do more God will reward him for it. Saint Theresa, authorised by the indult of Pope Pius IV. in 1562, took advantage of this supreme counsel not only to restore all the primitive observances, but to increase the rigour of poverty, seclusion, and mortification.[1]

Everyone knows how she herself practised these religious virtues: "It seems to me that I could not endure life without trials and there is nothing I implore of God with greater ardour. How often do I cry from the bottom of my heart, 'Lord, either to die or suffer is the only thing I ask of Thee!'"

Are we not far enough from the ideal of life, even the best among the humanists? I do not speak of Luther's invectives against the virtues of the religious state. Would it not seem ridiculous to ask which of the two was the better example of the Christian spirit—the monk married to a nun or the virgin of Avila?

[1] *Histoire de Ste Thérèse d'après les Bollandistes*, etc., p. 350.

Though outwardly different the Society of Saint Ignatius compassed the same end. What was it that gave such remarkable originality to the conception which resulted in the organisation of the Society of Jesus if not that particular kind of asceticism which associates a most active life in the world with absolute sacrifice, with utter renunciation of personality, of self-will, and of individual intellect? Jesuits are indeed recommended to mortify the flesh, but there are none of those obligatory practices which, when prolonged, take up too much time or lessen the strength, but, to make up for this, how severe is that interior mortification which results from their custom of suppressing all human and personal interest, of refusing every advantageous position in the Church, of constantly sacrificing the individual to the community, and of practising that perfect obedience which is required of all!

You know that Saint Ignatius says, in his famous letter to the Portuguese Jesuits, that there is "no exercise that better becometh the Society than ardour in rendering obedience with all desirable perfection."[1]

Obey your superior, whoever he be, because he is your superior. The holy Founder writes: "Since one does not obey a superior because he is prudent, good, endowed with admirable qualities, or blessed with divine gifts, . . . there is no reason to render a less perfect obedience to a superior because he is wanting in judgment or of mediocre prudence; for, whoever he be, he represents Him whose wisdom is infallible, and God will not fail to make up for the deficiency in His minister."

One must obey not merely with an exterior obedience; that is but a semblance unworthy the

[1] Bouix, *Lettres de Saint Ignace de Loyola*, French trans., p. 456.

name of virtue; it is the interior submission that is necessary; the full and entire submission of our will to the will that commands, nay, more, the adhesion of our very intellect to the judgment of our superior." And again Saint Ignatius says: "If intellectual obedience be defective, then good-bye to perfect obedience . . . good-bye to simplicity, to courage, to strength, in a word, to all the vigour, to all the efficiency, all the dignity of this great virtue. . . . He who wishes to give himself up entirely to God must of necessity deliver up not only his will but also his intellect, in such wise that he have but one and the same mind with his superiors as he has but one and the same will."

One must obey like the staff in the traveller's hand, like the corpse which offers no resistance, *perinde ac baculus . . . perinde ac cadaver.*

These words occur in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus; and they are to be found in the rules of other orders. You know whether they are mere rhetoric or not, and there is no need for me to tell you how they ought to be interpreted in order that all the rights of conscience may be safeguarded. Is it necessary to refute, before we continue with our subject, that famous calumny which is still repeated by a few simpletons and by many liars, to wit, that the Superior of the Jesuits may command his subjects to commit a mortal sin? This calumny is based upon a gross misconception. The text says—and so do all the rules of religious—that no infraction in itself of the constitutions, rules, and orders, is a sin, and could not be a mortal sin unless the order were given by the Superior in the name of holy obedience, for then there would be the formal violation of a vow: *Visum est nobis in Domino nullas constitutiones, declarationes,*

vel ordinim ullam vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere, nisi superior ea in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi vel in virtute obedientiæ jubeat.[1]

We may rest assured that there is no authority in the Catholic Church that can command any person to commit a mortal or even a venial sin in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ! It was not by the help of so complete an absurdity that the Church restored the principle of authority in a world of anarchy.[2]

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The Catholic Church, as I have already said, replied by a new effort to the desire for holiness which was evident in the souls of the purest after the unhappy disorders of the fifteenth century.

She first restored the true idea of justice, justification, and sanctity: this was pre-eminently the dogmatic work of the Council of Trent.

Bossuet explains Luther's opinions on justification with that marvellous clearness of intellect and that oratory with which he is so facile when dealing with the most intricate theological problems.

"Justification," he says, "is the grace which re-

[1] *Constitutiones Soc. Jesu*, pars. vi. cap. 5. "It hath seemed good to us in the Lord that . . . no constitutions, declarations, or any rule of life, *shall bind to either mortal or venial sin*, unless the Superior should enjoin the same in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, or in virtue of Holy Obedience." The curious idiom *obligatio ad peccatum* gave rise to the misconstruction. The meaning is not *obligation to commit sin*, as some have wildly supposed, but *obligation under pain of sin*. Saint Ignatius would hardly have combined the sense of the former reading with the idea of *Holy* Obedience! See *The Month*, August 1905.—*Translator's Note.*

[2] In the letter on obedience quoted above Saint Ignatius repeats Saint Bernard's saying that obedience is necessary "provided always that the command of man be not opposed to the law of God: *ubi tamen Deo contraria non præcipit homo*," p. 474.

mitting our sins, renders us at the same time agreeable to God. It had been believed until then that that which produces this effect must in reality come from God, but must nevertheless be in us; and that in order to be justified, that is to be changed from a sinner into a just man, one must possess justice in one's self, in the same way that one must possess knowledge and virtue to be learned and virtuous. Luther, however, did not pursue so simple an idea. He would have it that that which justifies us and makes us agreeable in the eyes of God is nothing within ourselves, but that we are justified because God imputes the justice of Jesus Christ to us as though it were our own, and because we can actually appropriate it by faith." But by what faith? By that which consists in believing with certainty that we are justified.[1]

And to have this certainty it is not necessary to be assured of the sincerity of our repentance. Besides all the works of man are evil; it is impossible to be certain that we do not commit several mortal sins in performing those works which seem to be of the greatest merit; the only thing is to believe we are absolved and we are.

To this strange doctrine, the Council answered that no one is justified in virtue of believing that he is justified; that the life of grace which unites the soul to God does not consist in grace which is inadmissible and unprogressive but that it is subject both to loss and growth; that justice increases by the accomplishment of God's commandments and those of the Church, and by good works with the co-operation of faith; that no one can with certainty count upon persevering to the end; that even those who think

[1] Histoire des Variations, bk. i. No. 7.

they stand should work out their salvation in fear and trembling, by means of almsgiving, fasting, and purity.[1]

Thus was the function of individual effort restored and a new impulse given to true sanctity.

How beautiful was that harvest of saints which then sprang up in all parts of Christendom! There is not a nation that did not yield its share. There were, however, two, which circumstances made to excel the rest so far that they imprinted their own character on the reformation which was at work within the bosom of the Church. These were Italy and Spain. In the next century France would give her tribute by Saint Francis of Sales and Saint Vincent de Paul to mention only the most illustrious; and she would have her two great mystical schools, that of the Jesuits and that of the Oratory and Saint Sulpice. In the sixteenth century, however, she gave way to her two Romanesque sisters: Italy with her amiable and precise mysticism, her genius for government, and her devotion to the Apostolic See; and Spain with her chivalrous enthusiasm, her austerity, and gravity, and her passionate desire to fight the infidel or the heretic; that Spain which was still under the spell of recent traditions; which fired with ardour and dreamed of new crusades when veterans told of the taking of Grenada.

Italian mysticism and Italian sanctity. Ah! were they not most sweetly expressed in the sympathetic and winning personality of Saint Philip Neri, founder of the Oratory, who has been so justly praised by a famous Protestant historian, Leopold von Ranke?[2] The two essential characteristics of the asceticism of

[1] Sess. iv. *Decretum de justificatione.*

[2] *La Papauté pendant les XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles*, vol. ii. p. 337. (French trans.)

Saint Philip and of his school are a tender charity and a mortification which is essentially spiritual. In the Saint's whole life one finds hardly two or three instances of severity and even these are singularly temperate. Instead, what amiable devices he used to gain sinners! How sweetly and graciously he showed his love for his neighbour! Though very severe for himself he was indulgent for others; he very rarely enjoined corporal mortification, but he had no pity for false pride, presumption, and vain-glory, and there was no artifice, however eccentric and strange, which he hesitated to employ to overcome these failings in himself and others. "The whole importance of Christian life," he used to say, "consists in the mortification of *rationalism*, that is, of intellectual presumption." "Sometimes," writes one of his disciples, "when he wished to teach us that it is our duty to mortify pride of thought he would touch our forehead and say: *The holiness of man is there within the space of three fingers.* . . . Sometimes when his followers were around him he would teach them in these words: *My children, humble your minds, submit your intellects.*"[1]

Can it not be said of him also that he had found the specific remedies for that egoism, that worship of self which owed so much of its development to the Renaissance and the Reformation?

The warlike soul of Spain was active in Saint Ignatius and Saint Theresa.

Instinctively a soldier, it was in that character that Saint Ignatius of Loyola began his career;[2] and from

[1] Cardinal Capecelatro, Vri de saint Philippe Neri, translated by Father Bazin. Paris, 1899. See in the 1st vol. chap. entitled L'ecole ascétique de saint Philippe.

[2] The first *Lives* of Saint Ignatius, those of Gonzalez, Ribadeneira,

his youth upward he gave evidence of his ardent courage and grandeur of soul. "What chivalrous heroism shone in him during the years that followed his conversion! What valour in the practice of those austerities in which he indulged like a knight and a soldier, *militari adhuc spiritu*, writes one of his biographers, Polanco, who had known him." In order, adds Gonzalez, another of his historians, that he might, like the saints, do great deeds for the glory of God. Is not this the hall mark of his spirituality and one of the most original notes struck in his *Spiritual Exercises*? You remember those two famous meditations, the *Reign of Jesus Christ* and the *Two Standards*. He looks upon life as a battlefield; and upon the world as divided into two camps, that of Jerusalem under the banner of Jesus and that of Babylon under the flag of Lucifer; he looks upon Jesus as a king—a captain-general as the Spanish text says—who calls His soldiers to conquer a kingdom, to share His glory, but to share also His labours, His sufferings, and His life.

The spiritual method of Saint Ignatius only uses contemplation to lead to action: the *Exercises* are truly an organisation of the spiritual warfare, of the crusade against evil in self and one's surroundings.

I recognise the same inspiration in Saint Theresa, whose mystical flights seem at first sight to differ so much from those of Saint Ignatius. Truly she did not wish to thrust her Carmelites into the battle;

Polanco, give us this impression of the military and chivalrous character of Saint Ignatius. The *Vie de saint Ignace* by M. Joly in the collection of saints published by Lecoffre is interesting to read. There is a very recent and complete work upon the Society of Jesus in the time of Saint Ignatius by Father Antonio Astrain. *Historia de la compañia de Jesus en la assistencia de España*, vol. i. *S. Ignacio de Loyola* (1540-1556).

that was the duty of priests, preachers, and missionaries, but she saw in them the auxiliaries of those who fought, and influenced by this idea she added something to the old spirit of Carmel.

The ancient Carmelite spirit was solitude, silence, contemplation, labour, and fasting. Under the direction of Saint Theresa a new element, apostolic zeal, transformed the basis of this life of prayers and recollection, and directed all the forces of the new Carmel to the conquest of souls.

It was the spirit of her own vocation. At the beginning of the *Way of Perfection* she says: "Having learned of the troubles in France and the ravages wrought there by the heretics and how that unhappy sect is growing stronger day by day, I was as deeply moved as if it were my fault and I wept in the presence of God and prayed Him to remedy so great an evil. It seemed to me that I would have given my life a thousand times over to save a single one of the great numbers of souls who were being lost in that kingdom."

What she asked of her daughters was prayer and mortification to obtain the conversion of heretics and help those who laboured to that end. "Oh, my sisters in Jesus Christ," she writes, "help me then to pray for so many sinners who are losing their souls. It is for this purpose that the Lord has brought you together here. This is your vocation; this is your duty. Thither should your desires lead you. For this cause should your tears flow and your prayers be multiplied . . . What! the world is on fire. The unhappy heretics wish, as it were, to condemn our Lord a second time, in that they raise up a thousand false witnesses against Him, and strive to overthrow His church. And we are losing time!

. . . Yes, when I consider these great evils, this fire which human forces cannot extinguish and which grows greater every day, it seems to me that the Church of God needs an army of the elect, an army that is ready to die but will never suffer defeat.

"Let us help the King's servants. I beg of you strive to become such that you may obtain great graces from God for His defenders. If we, by our prayers, can contribute to their victory, we also, in the depths of our solitude, shall have fought for the divine cause." [1]

So this Catholic mysticism urged its expounders and their disciples on to action, to good works, and apostolic zeal. "Pray as if God had to do everything," said Saint Ignatius, "and act as if you had to do everything."

How perfectly, too, does it respond to the spontaneous soaring of the soul to God! Saint Philip Neri seemed to be lifted out of himself: "Depart from me, O Lord, depart from me; for mortal weakness cannot bear so great and joyful a burden. Behold I die if Thou comest not to mine aid!" Who will give voice to the outpouring of a Saint Theresa or a Saint John of the Cross? The latter, entirely absorbed in God, had to do violence to himself in order to converse of temporal affairs, and sometimes he was unable to do so when he had just been praying. On such occasions he would exclaim, "Let us take to flight, let us go on high. What are we doing here, my dear brothers? Let us go to eternal life!" And in Italy Saint Mary Magdalen de Pazzi reproduced the aspirations, the virtues, the sufferings, and the ecstasies of Saint Theresa. "I did not know," she said, "whether I was alive or dead,

[1] *Vie de Sainte Thérèse*, quoted above, vol. i. pp. 344-348.

without my body, or within. . . ." "Our souls ought to be turtle-doves, to lament without ceasing the blindness of so many souls." How entire in self-abandonment is that generous gift of self to Jesus Christ with which the fourth week of the Exercises finishes. "Accept, O Lord, the offering of my whole being. Accept my memory, my understanding, and my will. To Thee I owe all I have and all I am, to Thee I render all. I give up all for Thy use and to Thy good pleasure for ever. Give me Thy love, Thy Grace alone, and I shall be rich enough; I ask for nothing more."

This is ardent mysticism indeed, but it is within bounds nevertheless and has nothing in common with the illuminism of Protestant sects. What was Saint Theresa's purpose in the *Way of Perfection* and the *Castle of the Soul*, if not to teach her religious the path of prayer and to preserve them from all illusion? What especially are the *Exercises* of Saint Ignatius, if not a strict method, or if you wish, a code of spiritual life? Listen to the description that Saint Ignatius himself gives of them: "As walking, marching, and running are bodily exercises, so spiritual exercises consist of the different ways of preparing the soul to rid it of all unruly affections and when it is quit of them to seek and find the will of God in the ordering of one's life with a view to salvation.[1]

Finally and above all, this mysticism, even under its most personal aspect, always remains subject to the control of the Church's authority. Read the first of the famous rules of Saint Ignatius, *ad sentiendum vere cum Ecclesia*: "We must always hold

[1] The first note or introduction placed at the head of the Exercises. Ed. by Father Roothaan, 1841, p. 1.

ourselves ready to obey, with all our hearts and all our minds, putting aside all individual opinion, the true spouse of Jesus Christ, our holy Mother, our infallible and orthodox Mistress, the Catholic Church, who exerts her authority over us by the hierarchy of her pastors"; and the tenth rule: "We must esteem the decretals, statutes, traditions, ordinances, rites, and customs of our fathers in the faith or of our superiors"; the eleventh: "We should reverence the teaching of the fathers and theologians"; and the thirteenth: "In order to be of one mind and one soul with the Church of Christ we must have confidence in her and mistrust ourselves so far as to admit that what seems to us true is false if she has defined it so; for we must believe unhesitatingly that the spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ is the spirit of His Spouse, and that God who once gave us His Commandments is the same God who inspires and governs the Church to-day."[1]

Such is the Catholic spirit that preserves the soul from error in its perilous ascent to God.

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God wishes men to be active: He demands their personal efforts to be placed at His service. He does not reform those institutions which are dearest to Him, such as His Church, either by miracle or even by a kind of inherent virtue which acts spontaneously and surely at the necessary moment. In the Catholic Church, as elsewhere, reforms are initially the work of a few individuals who desire them passionately and end by enlisting in their favour public opinion and the regular organisation of the hierarchy. Things happened thus in the sixteenth century and this is why it was said with truth that the Council of Trent

[1] Ed. Roothaan, pp. 224-231.

was itself the victory of the Catholic reforming party.[1]

When the elements of that reform were collected, when the instruments were ready, the Council came to accomplish the dogmatic and disciplinary work which was demanded by all and to draw up the uniform programme that was to be carried out everywhere.

On 7th January 1564, the day fixed for the second session of the Council, the secretary Massarelli, in the name of the legates, read a solemn exhortation, which had, no doubt, been drawn up by the great Cardinal Pole: it was at the same time the Church's *confiteor* and her promise to repair the evil that had been wrought. It ran as follows:—"If the progress of heresy, the corruption of morals, and the internal dissensions of Christendom are to be largely attributed to the clergy, it is their duty to repair the ills which they have caused, by their return to virtue and by the example of mildness and charity. In order to fulfil their noble mission, the bishops, especially, must rise above all passions of the heart as well as all prejudice of mind and must most carefully rid themselves of all personal consideration and all national influence. . . ." The speaker warned the Fathers of the terrible obstacles they would encounter in their work.[2]

In the year 1537 Pope Paul III. had appointed a great committee of reform which comprised the elect of the Sacred College. The report of the Commission which was printed at Rome in 1538 was signed by Contarini, Caraffa, Pole, Sadolet, Giberti, Cortese, and

[1] Von Hubner, *Sixte Quint* (French translation), Introduction, vol. i. p. 65.

[2] Labbe, *Conciles*, vol. xiv. col. 734.

Aleandre. It energetically pointed out the current abuses and even attributed them to the pontifical court.[1] "Flattery," it said, "has established in the Roman Curia the doctrines which reign therein, to wit that the Pope is the owner of all dignities, that he can sell them, that the acts of the Sovereign Pontiff are not subject to the laws of the Church." "It is *idolatrous*," adds Contarini, "to pretend that the Pope has no rule but his own will to establish or abolish positive right. . . . The law of Christ is a law of liberty."

The cardinals declared that it was absolutely forbidden to derive any profit whatever from the exercise of the power of the keys; that the Church cannot exist except by the maintenance of the law; that consequently most of the dispensations granted in the Roman Court would have to be abolished; that the pensions, reserves, and expectancies would have to be suppressed; that the conferring of several benefices upon one person would have to be forbidden; that residence was to be enforced upon bishops whose authority was not to be hindered; that clergy must be chosen and trained with greater care; and finally, that a more accurate knowledge of doctrine, and of the means of conforming their lives thereto, was to be assured to the faithful by preaching and instruction.[2]

Such, in effect, were the points upon which the reform of the Church was to return: such was, besides the definition of dogma against Protestants,

[1] *Consilium delectorum cardinalium et aliorum prælatorum de emendanda Ecclesia.* The original text is reproduced in Mansi, *Conciles*, Suppl. vol. v. col. 537.

[2] Contarini enlarges on this view in several letters addressed to Paul III. Le Plat, *Monumenta ad Hist. Conc. Trid.* vol. ii. p. 905.

the work of the Council of Trent. The Bishop of Nazianzus summarised it in these terms before the assembled Fathers on 4th December 1563, the twenty-fifth and last day of the Council's sitting. "Nations and inhabitants of the earth, celebrate this day on which the temple of the Lord is re-established upon its foundations, on which the vessel of the Church, having been tossed by the longest and wildest storms, regains the harbour. . . . To explain the Catholic Faith, to separate it from error, to re-establish ecclesiastical discipline, to protect it from those laxities which have been the cause or the pretext of our misfortunes, such has been the twofold end that we have striven to attain." He then recapitulated all the degrees which the Fathers had passed concerning faith and morals; Holy Scriptures, Original Sin, Justification, the Sacraments, the Sacrifice of the Mass, Communion under both kinds, Baptism of Infants, Purgatory, the Cult of the Saints, Indulgences—a splendid collection of the truths that had been explained and defined. "Yes," continued the speaker, "you have gloriously accomplished your task. Henceforth ambition will no more supplant virtue in the sacred ministry. The Word of the Lord will be more often and more carefully explained. The bishops will remain with their flocks. Henceforth none of those privileges with which vice or error cloaked themselves; no more needy or idle priests. Holy things will no longer be bartered, for the scandalous traffic of professional collectors is at an end. Those who have been trained from childhood for the Lord's ministry will be taught to pay Him a pure and worthy worship. The provincial synods are re-established, strict rules are drawn up for the presentation of cures and benefices; the transference of the Church's property as an in-

heritance is forbidden; the power of excommunication is more strictly limited; a strong curb is placed upon the covetousness, licence, and luxury of all, both clergy and laymen; wise warnings are given to the kings and potentates of the earth; do not all these things prove what great and holy things you have accomplished?"[1]

No one will dare to affirm that the lines of this pleasing picture are not a little exaggerated. It would take more than sixty years for the decretals of Trent to permeate throughout Catholicism. Nevertheless great results were obtained almost immediately, and sure foundations were laid for future success.[2]

It was the court of Rome that was the first to be reformed—and that a reform lasting for centuries. The excellent choice of cardinals made by Paul III. was the starting-point of this great work. All the leaders of the orthodox reforming party had been introduced into the Sacred College: Contarini, in whom, according to Pallavicini, the historian of the Council of Trent, were united prudence, diplomatic ability, learning, zeal, exemplary conduct, courage, and sincerity towards the most powerful—whether emperor or pope; Giovanni-Pietro Caraffa; Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras; Pole, in refuge from England; Giberti, who, after having for a long time taken part in the management of general affairs, administered his diocese of Verona in an exemplary manner; Morone, Bishop

[1] Labbe, *Conciles*, vol. xiv. col. 1659, quoted in Baguenault de Puchesse, *op cit.* pp. 248-250.

[2] The transformation that took place in the Roman Church during and after the Council of Trent has been admirably set forth by Ranke in his *Histoire de la Papauté pendant les XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles*, and by von Hubner in the introduction to his *Sixte-Quint*.

of Modena; Aleandre, whom the spectacle of the Church's misfortunes had led to the highest and purest conception of his ecclesiastical duties; Marcellus Cervini, whose election to the sovereign pontificate under the name of Marcellus II. in 1555 was to be hailed with joy by all those who desired the Church's reformation. Nearly all these were members of that *oratory of divine love* which revived the desire for interior life in the best representatives of the Italian clergy.

The happy selection of the members of the Sacred College led to the election of good popes. That of Marcellus II. had shown what direction the Church was taking: that of Giovanni-Pietro Caraffa, Paul IV., was not less significant. "If a party existed," says the historian Ranke, "that had for its aim the restoration of Catholicism in all its rigour, it was not merely a member, but the actual founder and leader of that party who ascended the pontifical throne in Paul IV."[1] "We promise and vow," he said in his Bull of Accession, "to take scrupulous care that universal reform, and that of the court of Rome, be carried out." In his honour a medal was struck, bearing a representation of Christ turning the money-lenders out of the temple.

The example of Saint Pius V. especially produced an extraordinary effect. . . . As Pope he lived with all the austerity of a monk, observed all the fasts without interruption, and allowed himself no garment of finer material. . . . The burden of the Papacy would have been insupportable to him without the grace of prayer. Until his death he preserved the happiness of fervent devotion, the only happiness

[1] See *Histoire de Saint Pie V.*, by M. de Falloux. Paris, 1884. 2 vols.

he could enjoy. The people were led to enthusiasm at the sight of this holy pontiff walking in procession, his head and feet bare, his face lighted up with an ineffable expression of sincere and profound piety . . . they thought there had never been so pious a pope, and they loved to relate how his mere glance had converted Protestants.[1]

The Jesuits and Theatins who surrounded Gregory XIII. continually quoted Pius V. as a model, and thus succeeded in directing the Pontiff's ambition into wholly religious channels. Moreover, as Tiepolo justly remarked in 1576: "Nothing helped the Church so much as that series of irreproachable popes. All those who succeeded them became more worthy or at least felt that it was necessary to appear so. The cardinals and prelates zealously attended Mass, and carefully sought to avoid all scandal in the maintenance of their households. The whole city sought to throw off the bad repute into which it had fallen, and became more Christian in morals and manners. Indeed it became possible to say that in religious matters Rome went as near perfection as the limitations of human nature would allow."[2]

Leopold von Ranke, in passing judgment on the popes of the second half of the sixteenth century, concludes in these words:

"In the preceding centuries certain popes had been able to hold themselves superior to all laws and to exploit the administration of their supreme dignity for the sake of their worldly pleasure; but the spirit of the age would not allow such an abuse. They were obliged to reform their personal conduct that

[1] *Histoire de la Papauté pendant les XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles.* French trans., vol. ii. p. 59.

[2] Ranke, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 332.

it might harmonise with the sanctity of the papal office; the fulfilment of their mission was to become the only care of those who were charged with it, and it was to be impossible to obtain it or keep it unless their mode of life was consistent with the high conception Christianity had formed of it."

Among all the work that had occupied the attention of the Council of Trent one of the most important was the reform of the episcopate. To this end the Council had taken the wisest steps, the effect of which received remarkable testimony in the splendid example of Saint Charles Borromeus at Milan.

The reform of all orders of the clergy was assured by the institution of seminaries and of sacerdotal congregations the aim of which was to raise the secular clergy by means of religious rule and the spirit of poverty. In 1524 Clement VII. had authorised the constitution of the *Clerks Regular* or Theatins founded by Saint Cajetanus Thieneeus and Giovanni-Pietro Caraffa, Bishop of Theatus. Binding themselves to live according to rule and in strict poverty, they strove to restore worship and ceremonial, to encourage the frequenting of the Sacraments, to reform preaching, to visit the sick, and to help prisoners, in a word to fulfil as perfectly as possible the duties of the sacred ministry.[1] Such again, in the latter part of the century, was the spirit of the Oratory which Saint Philip definitely founded in 1575, and such, in the following century, was the object of the great secular congregations which were founded in France by the Père de

[1] Father Dumortier, in his *Vie de Saint Gaëtan de Thiène*, Paris, 1882, shows very clearly how Saint Cajetanus was the patriarch of the clerks regular and the true initiator of reform among the secular clergy. *Cf.* the brilliant *Vie de Saint Gaëtan* written by M. de Maulde in the *Collection of Saints.*

Berulle, Saint Vincent of Paul, by M. Olier:—the Oratory, Saint-Lazare, Saint Sulpice.

Thus all classes of society were reached by good works, preaching, and instruction, and the way was prepared for the revival of the Christian spirit among the faithful. The Brothers of Mercy or of Saint John of God, the Fathers of the Bona Mors or *Camilliens* devoted themselves to the care of the sick; the *Barnabites* set themselves to preach, to give missions, and to instruct; the *Escolapians* of Saint Joseph Calazance, the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, of Cœsar de Bus, the Ursulines of Saint Angéla Merici undertook the education and instruction of boys and girls. Especially widespread and active was the work of the colleges founded by the Society of Jesus! Even Protestants placed their children in the hands of masters who knew how to cultivate not only the intelligence but the hearts and the wills of their pupils.

We need not be surprised that the Church again gathered around her the intellectual and moral forces of Catholic countries and reinstated her empire over minds. I am not speaking of the great ecclesiastical, historical, or theological works of a Baronius or a Bellarmin. No, what I especially wish to remark upon is the so complete change of inspiration to be noticed among literary men and artists. What a gulf between Ariosto who wrote his *Orlando Furioso* under Leo X. and Tasso who gave his *La Gerusalemma Liberata* to the contemporaries of Gregory XIII.! In the one is found poetry which has no sympathy with the Church; in the other its noblest inspirations are sought in the Church to which it submits with love and freshly enkindled faith.[1]

[1] See Leopold de Ranke (vol. ii. p. 322 *sqq.*) on this recovery of intellectual strength by the Church.

What a vast field was traversed between the worldly music which invaded the Church in the early sixteenth century and that of Palestrina: "Lord, enlighten me!" one reads, written in his handwriting on the manuscript of the Mass of Pope Marcellus II.

Did not Louis, Augustus, Annibale Carracci, Doménichino, Guido Reni, Guercino, seek first and foremost to reproduce the ideal of the God-made-man and that of the highest sanctity to be reached by man? What religious fervour in their paintings and consequently in their genius!

Yes indeed the Catholic Church has once more become the noble inspirer of great works and noble talents.

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Behold then how she arises anew this Church regenerated, like a mighty conqueror! As in the Middle Ages and before, may vast schemes of victorious propaganda descend from the seven hills of Rome. "An immense scene," says Ranke, "opens up before our eyes." Indeed, it is the whole of Protestant Europe that has to be regained. From Vienna, Cologne, and Ingolstadt the Jesuits fall upon Germany as from three fortresses. In fifteen years, from 1551 to 1566, they occupy Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, Bavaria, Tyrol, Franconia, Swabia, the Rhenish provinces; by their influence over princes, by confessions, by preaching, by colleges and universities they reinstate Catholic doctrine and practices once more in the place of honour. "Such a religious movement is without parallel in the history of the world."

In the Netherlands and in France Catholicism is asserting its rights; Poland, Sweden, England, and Switzerland are being penetrated by the Jesuits;

other missionaries are labouring for the same cause; the dominion of Protestantism is receding every day; were it not for the rivalry of the two houses of France and Austria, Rome would undoubtedly be triumphant almost everywhere.

At the same time, in the New World, following in the steps of soldiers, explorers, adventurers, Spaniards, Portuguese, and French, march the preachers of the gospel — Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, in the Antilles, Mexico, Central America, Peru, Chili, Paraguay, and Brazil—missionaries are also found in India, Japan, and China. It was in 1542 that Saint Francis Xavier, the greatest missionary of all, landed at Goa; the Capuchins are evangelising the East Coast of Africa whilst others are penetrating into the Congo.

"Rome," may we cry with Bossuet in his magnificent sermon on unity—"Rome is not exhausted in her old age and her voice has not grown feeble; day and night she never ceases to call to the most distant peoples to invite them to the banquet where all are made one. And behold at the sound of this maternal voice the far ends of the East are moved, and seem to wish to give birth to a new Christendom to repair the ravages wrought by the late heresies. It is the destiny of the Church. *Movebo candelabrum tuum*, 'I will move thy candlestick,' said Jesus Christ to the Church at Ephesus; 'I will take away your faith, I will move it.' He does not put out the light but he carries it elsewhere—to happier climes. Woe, woe again to those who lose it; but light goes on its way and the sun achieves its course."

VII

On the use of force by the Catholic Church against Protestants — The Inquisition in Italy and in Spain — Religious wars — Protestant intolerance[1]

In placing before you, as I did a week ago, the great reformation that took place within the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century I was quite at my ease. Both you and I were able to indulge in sentiments of pure and tranquil satisfaction as well as of unbounded admiration, for it was but a question of moral life, of supernatural ideas and efforts, and of sanctity. The subject that I touch upon to-day is more delicate and more painful. The Catholic Church is a respecter of conscience and of liberty as we were lately reminded in clear and beautiful language from the pulpit of Notre Dame; with Saint Bernard, the Fathers, and other theologians she believes and professes that "faith is a work of persuasion, not of force, *fides suadenda est, non imponenda.*" She has, and she loudly proclaims that she has, a "horror of blood." Nevertheless when confronted by heresy she does not content herself with persuasion; arguments of an intellectual and moral order appear to her insufficient and she has recourse to force, to corporal punishment, to torture. She creates

[1] For the bibliography of this chapter see that of chapters iv. and v.; also the works indicated at the foot of the pages of the present chapter; see also De Meaux, *La Réforme et la politique française en Europe.* Paris, 1889. 2 vols. in 8vo.

tribunals like those of the Inquisition, she calls the laws of State to her aid, if necessary she encourages a crusade, or a religious war and all her "horror of blood" practically culminates into urging the secular power to shed it, which proceeding is almost more odious — for it is less frank — than shedding it herself. Especially did she act thus in the sixteenth century with regard to Protestants. Not content to reform morally, to preach by example, to convert people by eloquent and holy missionaries, she lit in Italy, in the Low Countries, and above all in Spain the funeral piles of the Inquisition. In France under Francis I. and Henry II., in England under Mary Tudor, she tortured the heretics, whilst both in France and Germany during the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century if she did not actually begin, at anyrate she encouraged and actively aided the religious wars. No one will deny that we have here a great scandal to our contemporaries excepting to a certain class still having few adherents which theoretically — but theory often gives way before facts—affects a certain taste for violence and bloodshed.

Mgr. d'Hulst remarked on this fact in his *Carême* of 1895: "The intervention of the secular power in the cause of heresy has left memories which haunt the imagination of our contemporaries like a nightmare. Many men of divers opinions find in this the great scandal of ecclesiastical history. Our deadly enemies find herein matter for furious assaults, whilst our kindly adversaries here encounter the stumbling-block which prevents their return to us. Indeed, even among our friends and our brothers we find those who dare not look this problem in the face.

They ask permission from the Church to ignore or even to deny all those acts and institutions in the past which have made orthodoxy compulsory. And when the Church refuses this right, when she condemns the thesis of absolute liberalism, when she defends, if not in its detailed application at any-rate in principle, a legislation belonging to the great centuries of faith, then a dread fear seizes them and leaves them with halting faith or saddened by the sight of ironical or triumphant impiety."[1]

Whence comes in our own times this almost invincible repugnance to use coercion in religious matters? It is not a question I can answer now. I am dealing, not with psychology, but with contemporary history. For more than a century we have lived in a world where ideas are constantly hustling and fighting and in which every party has had its turn of power; our enemies have turned against us those principles which formerly were brought to bear against themselves. Moreover, a gentler spirit prevails, the rights of humanity are better respected, and individualism even in religion has progressed. In a word the present state of things is looked upon as normal and indeed as desirable; tolerance has become a dogma. The Church no longer thinks of using its ancient rights and the State, supposing it returned to Catholicism, would beware of helping her even if asked. The State would have no right to comply in a matter like this, for the duty of the State is measured by social usefulness and its interference to enforce a dogma or an ecclesiastical discipline would be not only useless but harmful to the public good.

Alas! we should be happy indeed if it did not

[1] *Carême* of 1895. *L'Eglise et l'Etat*, p. 12.

interfere with us. When I speak of this spirit of tolerance attained by our contemporaries, and which, ten years ago, was looked upon as ideal, am I not committing an anachronism? Are we not having a State doctrine imposed upon us both by teaching and by force?

This may help us to understand the spirit of our forefathers in the sixteenth century. They at least had the excuse of believing their doctrine inspired by God and of imposing it in the name of Divinity. To comprehend, let us, in the words used recently by a distinguished historian, M. l'abbé Vacandarel, take to ourselves "the soul of an ancestor." [1]

A few analogies will render our task easier. I shall borrow them from *L'Eglise et l'Etat*, in which Mgr. Hulst sets them forth with the bright light of his fine intellect:

"Every society needs a doctrine; brutal force can never dislodge an idea. There is a moral element at the base of every institution, whether political, legal, or social. Property and family represent the chief foundations of civilisation. The State has the right and the duty to protect them; it can only do so by appropriating to itself the ideal conception which is substantiated, so to speak, in these things which are real and lifelike. To draw up a code the legislator has had to choose between opposing theories: he has declared in favour of individual and transferable property, thereby standing out against collective systems. He has chosen for marriage between a single man and a single woman, with an indissolubility of conjugal union, which is absolute or at least relative,

[1] *Etudes de critique et d'histoire religieuse. Les Papes et la Saint-Barthélemy*, p. 221.

thereby classing in the category of social heresies polygamy, polyandry, so-called free love, or even simple divorce with mutual consent. Philosophers are not prevented from preferring a contrary doctrine, but they may not practise it, and should they attempt to do so would be boldly opposed. Moreover, the State preserves national unity against internationalism. It allows dreamers to desire any manner of racial federation they may wish, but it obliges all citizens to help forward the very opposite ideal by military service. It is not sufficient to bear arms to be called a soldier, they must be borne for one's country. Disorderly soldiers merit only proscription or death. Only twenty-five years ago some journalists were condemned to transportation for life for some articles they had written. They were State heretics. They had incited the people to rebellion against the country. When the State defends itself by such means it is not tyrannical, it is merely fulfilling its mission and ensuring the success of an idea which emanates from the conscience of a whole nation.

"Well then, carry these principles into a society of which all the members are Christian, a society where religious belief encounters, if not absolute unanimity which is not of this world, at anyrate the same moral unanimity which, as we saw just now, inspires and upholds our fundamental institutions—property, family, and country. Would you refuse to allow the State to lend the helping hand of power to uphold a social truth which forms the base of national life? Theoretically speaking I do not see how you could do so; I go further, and I find in the behaviour of the modern State an analogy which proves it. And you must know that this is the whole pretension of the Church when she condemns absolute liberalism. She says to

the representatives of political power: No, it is not true that the maintenance of material security exhausts your obligations and your prerogatives. You cannot even entirely fulfil this elementary function unless you are guided by principles and by doctrines accepted by all. And because the duty of all is to recognise the whole and entire truth taught by God you would but be usurping if you interfered so far as to limit it. But you perform a just and good work by accepting this truth which is ready there, by commanding the respect of citizens, by not allowing it to be violated, and also by abstaining from an impious propaganda which will convert a people happily united in their profession of faith into a people without faith and without morals."[1]

So much is our due. Has it always been amply paid? Have not human passions intervened to compromise so just a principle? Have not the representatives of the Church sometimes abused the great power which they possessed? Oh, certainly, I am not upholding, neither have I any intention of apologising for, all that was said, written, and done in the name of militant Catholicism during the sixteenth century.

Without doubt "in this vast conspiracy against truth" which Joseph de Maistre stigmatised, many accusations brought against the Church were founded only on misunderstanding, error, and falsehood; these it has been, and still is, the duty of the historian to refute, but even were there more than there is it would only resolve itself into a question of fact; the principle would always remain the same, and it is this that matters.

Let us add that the Church which respects abso-

[1] Lent, 1895. *L'Eglise et l'Etat*, pp. 130-133.

lutely the rights of infidels, of Jews, and of pagans, regards heretics as her children, rebellious children over whom she has authority because they have been baptised, in consequence of which fact it is her strict duty to bring them back to her fold if she can.

Moreover, like the State opposed by what we have just called *social heresies* the Church only desires to suppress the exterior manifestations of incredulity and of religious heresy.

Again, when she appealed to secular power to fight with armed forces against the great heresies—such as the Albigensian heresy in the thirteenth, the Hussites in the fifteenth, or Protestantism in the sixteenth century—she did not only invoke the aid of State in defence of the Church, but also in defence of social order, its special mission. The Albigenses threw the society of their time into absolute disorder; so did the Hussites; as to the Protestants, they were in open revolt against the government. If to-day Catholics were to resort to arms to resist the enterprises that the president of a council, subject, not to a Church, but to a sect, undertakes against their most precious liberties, do you think that this president would hesitate an instant to let them be fired on by order of the Minister for War? If, when the Bretons tried to defend their persecuted nuns, the local senators and deputies had called for outside help, and had made way for it, as Coligny and his followers delivered Le Havre to the English in 1562, do you think that the government of the Republic, however liberal it may be, would have hesitated to punish them? Well then, we have no cause to be indignant if in the midst of the sixteenth century the most Christian king sometimes placed his arms at the

disposal of the Church to combat a heresy in the suppression of which it was so directly interested.

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However, Protestants in general agreed with Catholics on this subject. I know well that this is a matter of surprise to many who, by dint of constantly hearing falsehood, imagine that the Catholic Church has the monopoly of intolerance and of recourse to violence to impose her doctrines. The contrary truth has been proved a hundred times; however, let us once more demonstrate this to be the case, for falsehood is constantly reappearing.

In 1529, nine years after he had consummated his rebellion against the Church, Luther wrote: "If it is in our power we must not tolerate opposing doctrines in the same State, and to avoid greater evils, those who do not believe should be obliged to attend sermons, to hear the explanation of the commandments, and to obey at least exteriorly." He added that false teachers should be exiled.[1]

His lieutenant, the gentle Melanchthon, wished that the civil power "should be armed with the sword to punish the inventors of new opinions,"[2] and described the punishment of Michel Servet as "*prima et memorabile ad omnem posteritatem exemplum.*"[3]

Calvin comments on Deuteronomy, chap. xii. vers. 6-9: "If thy brother, or thy son, or thy wife, or thy friend whom thou lovest as thy own soul, would persuade thee secretly, saying: Let us go, and serve strange gods—consent not to him, hear him not, neither let thy eye spare him to pity and conceal him. But thou shalt presently put him to death.

[1] De Wette, vol. iii. p. 347.
[2] *Corpus reformatorum*, vol. vii. p. 523.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 133.

Let thy hand be first upon him, and afterwards the hands of all the people." Calvin drew this conclusion from this text: "Thus, whoever holds that wrong is done to heretics and blasphemers by punishing them goes against the word of God; it is God who speaks here; He wishes humanity to be placed in the background when it is a question of fighting for His glory."[1]

Theodore of Beza, Calvinist in Geneva, expressed the same opinion. "If there be heresy," he wrote in 1554, "that is to say if a man be possessed with an absolute contempt for God's word and ecclesiastical discipline, what greater or more outrageous crime could be found? . . . Be careful then, faithful magistrates, to serve God well, who has placed the sword in your hands for the honour of His Majesty; strike virtuously with this sword these monsters disguised as men."[2]

Theodore of Beza regarded the error of those who demanded liberty of conscience as "something worse than papistical tyranny." "Better have a tyrant really cruel," said he, "than such licence which allows each one to think as his imagination prompts him."

After the execution of Servet, Pastor Bullinger of Zurich sent a message to Lelio Socin: "If you do not yet see, Lelio, the right a magistrate has to punish a heretic, you will undoubtedly do so one day. Even Saint Augustine at first thought it iniquitous to constrain a heretic by force and not by God's word only. But afterwards he learned by sundry experiences to use violence beneficially. The Lutherans also, at the beginning, did not believe in punishing sectarians, but after the excesses of the Anabaptists

[1] Quoted by Langlois, *l'Inquisition*, p. 15.

[2] *De hæreticis a civili magistratu pniendis.* Quoted by Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion*, vol. ii. p. 24.

they were forced to admit that it was wiser to have recourse to the magistrate not only to suppress rebel spirits but to prevent the loss of thousands by the salutary example of punishment."[1]

Farel, one of the reformers of French Switzerland, reasoned in a similar way. During Servet's trial he congratulated Calvin for desiring "the death of one who deserved ten thousand," and he exhorted him not to be led away by kindness of heart to mitigate the punishment, for fear that others might be tempted by such mildness to preach new doctrines: "*Sed te, quæso, ita geras, ne temere quivio audeat nova inferre in publicum dogmata.*"[2]

It is not only the doctors who express themselves thus; the same principle is proclaimed by official confessions of faith. The first confession of faith of the Reformed Churches in France in 1559, on the morrow of the atrocities inflicted on Henry II. on the Protestants declared that:

"God has put the sword into the hands of magistrates to suppress sins committed not only against the second Table of God's Commandments but also against the first"[3] (namely those which relate to our duty to God).

In the seventeenth century, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, one of those who had protested the most vigorously against this measure—Iurien—wrote these strong words: "Princes and magistrates are God's anointed and His lieutenants on earth. . . . But they would be strange lieutenants of God if they were not bound by any duty which as magistrates they had to perform for God. How can one imagine

[1] Quoted by Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion*, vol. ii. p. 6.

[2] Farel to Calvin, 8th September 1553. *Opera Calvini*, vol. xiv. p. 613.

[3] Article 39.

a Christian magistrate, the lieutenant of God, fulfilling his duty to keep order in the Society at the head of which he is placed if he is not obliged to prevent revolt against this God whose lieutenant he is so that the people may not choose another God, *or serve the true God other than He wishes to be served*" ? Consequently he invites princes to *hinder*, to *banish* heretics; he even allows that "the punishment of death should be had recourse to when there exist sufficient proofs of malignity, bad faith, the desire to trouble Church and State, joined with audacity, impudence, and contempt of the law." [1]

There is no doubt that all are agreed with Catholics in saying that the State has the right to have recourse to force when the political and social tendencies of religious sects imperil it. Hence the ferocious suppression in the lifetime of Luther of the peasants and then of the Anabaptists in Germany and in Switzerland. The Protestant historian of Switzerland, Ruchat, ingenuously gives the reason: "It was because the Anabaptists were really seditious characters who under the pretext of Christian liberty wished to shake off the yoke of all authority."

It has been justly remarked that, "rebellion against the bishops, the pillage of the goods belonging to the Church or to monasteries was a praiseworthy action . . . but to apply the same doctrine to the authority and to the wealth of nobles and magistrates was a crime worthy of death." [2]

Why then be indignant with kings of France and

[1] Letter VI. See these quotations and their commentary in Bossuet, sixth note on the *Letters of M. Jurieu*, 3rd part, Nos. 82, 83, and 84.

[2] Rohrbacher, vol. xxiii. pp. 269-270; and Camut, *La tolérance protestante*, p. 21.

the emperors of Germany who tried to make their authority, and their own and their subjects' wealth respected? A few—but very few—Protestant writers see the analogy between the two cases: in speaking of the measures used by the Emperor Ferdinand II. against the preachers of Bohemia and of Austria an author contemporary with the Thirty Years' War says: "That one should wish to insist on liberty of religion seems a strange and ridiculous thing to sensible people. Why ask Catholic princes to grant religious liberty in their dominions when there is not one on the other side who will grant it? Every gentleman, has he but three peasants, makes them dance to the tune of his fife. Is he a Lutheran, the peasants must be the same; he becomes a Calvinist, so must the peasants, as has happened in the Palatinate, in Hesse, and in other principalities where peasants have been known to change their religion four times to please their masters."[1]

In fact, nearly all reason as does Calvin himself in his dedication to Francis I. in his *Institution chrétienne*. He does not reproach the king for inflicting punishments on heretics; but because he counts as heretics those who are not and who on the contrary represent true Christianity. As for heretics, they deserve death. A conclusion that Calvin does not express but which he would have drawn openly had he been the master: it was the Catholics who were to be burned.[2]

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[1] *Prouesses des Mansfeldiens.* Quoted by Menzel, vol. vii. p. 86, note.

[2] In this dedication, Calvin reminds Francis I. that it is his duty to uphold God's glory on earth, that he ought to be the *true minister* of God in the government of his kingdom, that the king who does not reign for God's glory is not a sovereign but a brigand, etc. Ed. Baumgartner, 1888, p. 6.

Perhaps what has gone before will help us to judge more leniently and more justly the severities employed by the Catholic Church against Protestants. The Church strictly applied the doctrines I have put forward above, and had recourse to traditional means in use since the thirteenth century—namely, the Inquisition: punishment inflicted in the name of law by the secular power and religious word.

The Inquisition was at work in Italy and in Spain; but, whilst in Italy it only reached isolated cases, in Spain it suppressed with one bold stroke the rising heresy. Here then we will watch it at work.[1]

On 27th April 1558, Vasquez de Molina, State Secretary to Castille, and the Regent Jeanne addressed to the Emperor Charles V., then retired to the monastery of Yuste, an important despatch setting forth the progress of the Protestant heresy, especially at Valladolid, and the arrest of one of the heads of the new doctrine—Doctor Cazalla.[2]

[1] *Re* Protestantism in Spain and its suppression, may be consulted: De Uzès y Rio, *Collection des reformateurs espagnols, Reformistas antignos españoles;* A. de Castro, *Historia de los protestantes espagnoles.* Cadiz, 1851; translated, revised, and completed by Heinrich Herz (Protestant), *Geschichte der spanischen Protestanter,* Frankfurt-on-Main, 1866. Droin (Prot.) in French, *Histoire de la Réformation en Espagne.* 2 vols. in 12. Paris and Lausanne, 1880. Menendez Pelayo (Catholic), *Historia de los Heterodoxos españoles.* 3 vols. in 8. Madrid, 1880. Vol. ii. As to the Inquisition the thesis of Hefele, of Gams, and of Knœpfler that it is primarily a State institution is exaggerated. The truth is that the Spanish Inquisition was essentially an ecclesiastical court of justice to which royalty lent its arms and of which it made use to reach powerful enemies by making it as national as possible and by taking it as much as possible away from the authority of Rome. *Cf.* Fr. X. Rodrigo, *Historia verdadera de la Inquisicion.* 3 vols. Madrid, 1876-7.

[2] On the beginning of the Reform at Valladolid may be read with interest the two trials of Maria Cazalla and of the nun Maria

Charles replied immediately that it was important to act with extreme severity: "It is necessary that those who are deemed guilty should be punished with that publicity and severity which the nature of the fault demands; and that without exception. If I had the strength I should try to do my share in imposing this punishment, and I would add it to what I have already done and suffered for this end. But I know that this is unnecessary and that all will be done as it should be. . . . There will be no peace or prosperity where there is not conformity of doctrine."[1]

And in 25th May 1558: "I assure you, my daughter, that this business has caused and is causing me great trouble. Were I not certain that you and the members of the Council who are by your side would utterly uproot the evil (for it is but a beginning without depth or strength) by rigorously punishing the guilty to prevent it from growing further, I should make up my mind to leave this place to go and remedy matters myself."

And he adds "that they must be pitiless, that he had himself formerly acted thus in Flanders . . . where the obstinate had been burned alive and the repentant beheaded when they had made their peace with the Church."[2] (This particular indulgence with regard to the repentant was soon to be extolled by the chief of the English Presbyterians, Thomas Cartwright.)

Finally in the codicil of Charles V.'s will which he added a few days before his death he enjoined his

de San Hieronyms, published fully in Melgares Marin, *Procedimientos de la Inquisicion.* Madrid, 1886. 2 vols. in 12. Vol. ii.

[1] Quoted by Mignet, *Charles-Quint à Yuste*, p. 363.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 365.

son to seek out and punish, without mercy or pity for any, all the heretics in his dominions; "doing thus you will have my blessing and the Lord will bless all your undertakings."[1]

At the same time Vasquez had given information to King Philip II.

Paul IV. wrote to the general Inquisitor to recommend him to follow up the heretics "were they dukes, princes, kings, or emperors."

In this brief the Pope enjoined confessors "to refuse absolution to those who would not denounce all who were inculcated in heresy, even their relations."

On 9th September 1558 Philip ordered "that all those who bought, sold, or read forbidden books, such as the Holy Scriptures in the Vulgar tongue should be condemned to be burned alive."[2]

The informers were to receive a portion of the confiscated goods.

The grand Inquisitor, Fernando Valdès, Archbishop of Seville, proceeded with ability, allowing his agents to mix with those suspected of heresy so as to know all, but at the same time he placed the most energetic men at the head of the Inquisition of Seville and of Valladolid, the two principal centres of heresy. He found it necessary to excuse himself for this slow process by explaining all to Charles V.

Thanks to these underhand methods Valdès got to know the name and addresses of all the Spanish reformers, even those who were living abroad. Then suddenly at the least expected moment he seized and threw in prison all those who might be in the least

[1] Quoted by Mignet, *Charles-Quint à Yuste*, p. 372.

[2] Droin, vol. i. pp. 264-5, from Güell y Rente, *Philippe II. et Don Carlos devant l'Histoire*, 1878, p. 120.

tainted with heresy. At Seville and in its suburbs two hundred persons were arrested in a single day; other arrests brought the number up to eight hundred. The number was scarcely less at Valladolid.

Arrests were made in the most remote provinces of the peninsula. It was in this great harvest of 1558 that the principal leaders of the Protestant movement were taken, especially at Valladolid and at Logroño.

After the arrests and the trials came the penalties. Five important autos da fé took place [1]—at Valladolid on 22nd May 1559; at Seville on 24th September 1559; at Valladolid, 8th October 1559; at Toledo, 25th February 1560; and at Seville, 22nd December 1560.

The first of these lugubrious solemnities took place on 22nd May 1559 in the presence of the Regent Joan, of her nephew Don Carlos, of a considerable number of nobles and ladies, and of an immense crowd of people.

The celebrated theologian Melchior Cano had been chosen to preach the sermon.

The Regent and the heir to the crown, Don Carlos, took a vow to uphold the Inquisition in every place and at every time.

[1] The auto da fé or act of faith, Spanish *acto de fé*, consisted in the reconciliation of the repentant culprits, the acquittal of those who had been unjustly accused, and the solemn condemnation of the guilty. After which the inquisitors retired, and the obstinate heretics or convicted criminals were given over to the secular power. Popular language has confused the auto da fé with the punishments that followed. Llorente speaks of an auto da fé held at Toledo on 12th February 1486, when 750 guilty were punished; no capital punishment was given, but all underwent a canonical penance. It often happened thus.

The reading of the sentences, the degradation of the condemned ecclesiastics, and other formalities to be gone through, lasted from six o'clock in the morn- until two in the afternoon. Nobody showed the least sign of fatigue, and the Regent did not retire until all was finished.

The condemned, escorted by guards and followed by the clergy, confraternities, and schools, then went towards the *quemadero*, which was either a pile or a block. Fourteen were to be burnt.

The first called was Agostino Cazalla, who was reconciled to the Church, and exhorted his companions to abjure their errors. The inquisitors rewarded him by ordering that he should be strangled before being thrown into the flames.

His brother Francesco, priest of Valladolid, refused to retract, and was burnt. His third brother Pedro was strangled in exchange for some useful information.

The same favour was accorded to several others of the condemned who retracted, especially to several women, amongst them being Beatrix de Vibero.

The bachelor Herrezuelo showed an unconquerable obstinacy.

On 24th September at the auto da fé of Seville twenty-two persons were burnt. One woman, Maria Bohorques, continued to the very end her protestations of faith in the Lutheran doctrines. The priest Juan Gonzalez and his two young sisters marched to the scaffold singing psalms, an incident which made a great impression on the people.

The auto da fé held at Valladolid on 8th October 1559 was honoured by the presence of Philip II., who had been recalled to Spain by the progress of heresy. Princes, ambassadors, and the nobles of

Spain accompanied him. "The auto of these heretics," relates Diego de Simancas,[1] "took place with much ceremony. In the market-place a new kind of scaffold had been erected so that the guilty might be seen from all sides and all around were assembled the people of the town and of the neighbourhood." The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Cuença. When it was finished the Archbishop of Seville approached the king and said in a loud voice: "O God, hasten to come to our aid!" Philip II. immediately stood up, and drawing his sword expressed his firm resolve to place it at the disposal of the Catholic religion. Then he took a vow to help the Inquisition to seek out heretics.

It was at this auto da fé that Don Carlos de Seso was burnt, and it is to him that Philip II. is supposed to have addressed these celebrated words: "I would carry the wood to the stake myself to burn my own son if he were as guilty as thou." And when some nobles interceded for Seso, he said: "It is but meet and just that noble blood which has become impure should be purified by fire, and if my own blood were tainted in my son, I should be the first to throw him in the fire."[2]

Before dying Domingo de Rojas held firmly to his belief in spite of the supplications of his brother Dominicans who were around him.

Several nuns of the convent of Saint Claire at Valladolid were also burnt on this day.

At the auto da fé at Seville on 22nd September

[1] Diego de Simancas was secretary to the Holy Office. The quotations which follow are taken from Castro, *Historia de los protestantes españoles*, bks. ii. and iii.

[2] The accounts of this incident do not agree. *Cf.* Menendez Pelayo, V. ii. p. 353.

1560 Julianillo Hernandez (Julien le Petit) was burnt. He had been imprisoned for three years and tortured several times. He protested to the end. Egidius and Ponce de la Fuente, former preacher to Charles V., and the Protestant apostle of Andalusia were burnt in effigy.

There were other autos da fé in several towns: Protestants were burnt until the end of the century, but after 1570 Protestantism in Spain may be considered as at an end.

Such scenes make one shudder: yet we cannot but acknowledge with Joseph de Maistre that the religious strifes of the seventeenth century caused less blood to flow in Spain than elsewhere. Compare the number of victims of the Spanish Inquisition to those of the religious wars in France and Germany or even to the number condemned under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, and mark the difference!

In my study on the religious struggles in France I have shown what were the punishments inflicted by the law on the Protestants under Francis I. and Henry II. and how they reached a totally opposite result to that desired. It was the same in England under Mary Tudor. However badly treated she may have been by Henry VIII. or by Edward VI., Mary remained kind. She showed a clemency, unusual in those days, to her political enemies, and only three rebels were beheaded for the attempt at usurpation made by Jane Grey. With regard to the Protestants, she showed the same moderation and kindliness at the beginning, and when Parliament disapproved, Mary Tudor refused to listen to their advice. In the second year of her reign all was changed under certain influences which it has been impossible to determine but at anyrate partly by the force of

circumstances, by pamphlets, plots, and revolts. The stubborn animosity of married ecclesiastics deprived of their livings and that of the Protestants on the Continent surpasses everything. It was thought that a few examples would suffice, but they were carried further. On 20th January 1555 the Statute of Heresy was enacted in all its extreme rigour. The first victim was a certain Rogers, a married priest, who was degraded and burnt at Smithfield. "Have you not prayed against the Pope yourself for twenty years?" he asked the Chancellor Gardiner, who presided at the trial. "I was forced to do so by cruelty," replied the latter. "And would you use cruelty towards others?" returned Rogers.

The fate of Roland Taylor (1555) is particularly touching. Curate of Hadleigh, arrested in London, he was condemned to suffer in his own parish. His wife "suspecting that her husband would that night be carried away," had waited through the darkness with her children in the porch of Saint Botolph's, beside Aldgate. "Now when the sheriff and his company came against Saint Botolph's Church, Elizabeth cried, saying, 'O my dear father! Mother! mother! here is my father led away!' Then cried his wife, 'Roland, Roland, where art thou?' for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr Taylor answered, 'I am here, dear wife,' and stayed. The sheriff's men would have led him forth, but the sheriff said, 'Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife.' Then came she to him, and he took his daughter, Mary, in his arms, and he and his wife and Elizabeth knelt down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook

her by the hand, and said, 'Farewell, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience! God shall still be a father to my children.' . . . Then said his wife, 'God be with thee, dear Roland! I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadleigh!' . . . All the way Dr Taylor was merry and cheerful as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. . . . Coming within two miles of Hadleigh he desired to light off his horse, which done, he leaped and set a frisk or twain as men commonly do for dancing. 'Why, Master Doctor,' quoth the sheriff, 'how do you now?' He answered, 'Well, God be praised, Master Sheriff, never better, for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house!' . . . The streets of Hadleigh were beset on both sides with men and women of the town and country who waited to see him; whom when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices, they cried, 'Ah, good Lord! there goeth our good shepherd from us!' The journey was at last over. 'What a place is this,' he asked, 'and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered together?' It was answered, 'It is Oldham Common, the place where you must suffer, and the people are come to look upon you.' Then said he, 'Thanked be God, I am even at home!' . . . But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears and cried, saying, 'God save thee, Dr Taylor; God strengthen thee and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee!' He wished, but was not suffered, to speak. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch barrel which they had set for him to stand on, and so stood with

his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes towards heaven, and so let himself be burned." One of the executioners "cruelly cast a faggot at him, which hit upon his head and brake his face that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr Taylor, 'Oh, friend, I have harm enough —what needed that?'" One more act of brutality brought his sufferings to an end. "So stood he still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halberd struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire."[1]

Such scenes only served to excite pity, and the courage of many Protestants helped their cause. "Play the man, Master Ridley," said the old Bishop Latimer as the flames shot up around him: "we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."[2]

He spoke the truth. The two hundred victims[3] who suffered under Mary Tudor have effaced from the memory of Protestants and many others the Catholic blood shed by the predecessors and successors of this unhappy queen.

The religious wars, although infinitely more formidable in their multifarious consequences, seem to us less odious than these punishments. The Church did not incite them, but, once begun, she exhorted kings to pursue them to the bitter end without pity, and the Pope supplied troops to help them on. Saint

[1] Green, *History of the English People*, p. 357.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 359.

[3] This is the number given by Lingard; Cobbett gives 277; the historian Dixon gives, for the year 1555, 31 persons in the diocese of London, 10 in that of Canterbury, 26 in the other dioceses—altogether 67; in 1556, 37 in the diocese of London, 8 in the diocese of Norwich, 25 in other places—altogether 74.

Pius V. wrote to Catherine de Medici on 28th March 1569: "It is only by the complete extermination of heretics that the king will be able to give back the ancient worship of the Catholic religion to this noble kingdom. If Your Majesty continues to war openly and zealously against the enemies of the Catholic religion until they are all massacred Divine succour will not be wanting."[1] When sending a little army to Charles IX. he said to him: "Your Majesty may use these soldiers in the war which the Huguenots, your subjects but the declared foes of God and His Church, have incited against your sacred person and against the general good of your kingdom" (6th March 1569).[2]

After the battle of Jarnac he counsels the continuation of the war, and because the prisoners have been set free he complains in these words: "Do not spare the enemies of God in any way whatever or for any reason whatever, *nullo modo, nullisque de causis hostibus Dei parcendum est.*"

"They must suffer the punishments and penalties of the law. . . . Be equally inexorable to all: *æque omnibus inexorabilem te præbere*; to act otherwise would be to offend God and would compromise both the safety of the king and the security of the kingdom."[3]

After Montcontour (October 1569) he gives the same advice: "If Your Majesty wishes your kingdom to be prosperous you must try to uproot heresy, and you must not permit anything but the exercise of

[1] Letter of Pius V. to Catherine de Medici. Ed. Goubau, Antwerp, 1640, p. 155.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 150. *Cf.* de Falloux, *Saint Pie V.* vol. i. p. 217.

[3] These remarks are taken from the Letters of Pius V. to Catherine de Medici and to Charles IX., 28th March and 13th April 1569. Ed. Goubau, pp. 151, 155, 165, 166.

the Catholic religion, which began almost with the monarchy, and which the most Christian kings, your predecessors, have professed and upheld with so much zeal. So long as there is division of spirits in religious matters Your Majesty will be in trouble and your kingdom will be the bloody theatre of continual strife."[1]

He also tried to prevent the peace which Catherine sought to conclude.[2] This does not mean, as has been pretended, that he knew and approved beforehand of the plans which ended in the massacre of Saint Bartholomew. What he wanted was open war; when he heard that the French court were contemplating the deaths of Coligny and of Condé he was unreserved in his blame.[3]

In the same way Gregory XIII. expressed great annoyance when he heard that the Cardinal de Lorraine had allowed Maureval, who had aimed at the Admiral, to enter the Vatican. "He is an assassin," he cried.[4]

All documents go to prove that the papacy was in nowise the accomplice of Saint Bartholomew, and the satisfaction it showed was due, whatever else may be said, to the false account of the affair communicated by the French government.[5]

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[1] Quoted by Falloux, *Saint Pie V.* vol. i. p. 226.

[2] See the remarks quoted by Vacaudard, *Les Papes et la Saint Barthélemy, Études de critique*, etc., pp. 231-236.

[3] See Vacaudard, *ibid.* p. 240 *sqq.*

[4] Quoted by La Ferrière, *La Sainte-Barthélemy, la veille, le jour, le lendemain*, p. 151.

[5] *Ibid.* La Ferrière also brings forward the evidence of Lord Acton and of the Protestant historian Soldan, who writes: "There are documents which prove that these events took place outside Roman influence; the accounts given by Salviati are marvellously

Such is the truth of facts which I can hardly be accused of having misrepresented.

I should be giving you a very false impression, however, if I allowed you to believe that the action of the Protestants differed in any way from that of the Catholics. I have given their theories: their practices were in harmony with them.

"It is a question," says a historian who is not partial to the Inquisition, M. Langlois, "whether more Catholics have been destroyed by the Albigensian Inquisition than Anabaptists have been killed in Lutheran and Calvinistic Germany?"[1]

The Protestant rule—this remark is mere commonplace—is intolerance with regard to Catholics, and it always has been. To see this it is sufficient to read the history of the establishment of the Reformation in the large German towns before Luther's death. It is the same in Switzerland. In June 1528, the Council of Bern gave orders that all statues were to be broken and all altars to be overthrown, that all priests who said Mass were to be arrested and thrown into prison, as well as any who should dare to speak against the members of the Council. Those who harboured priests were punished in the same way, and citizens were forbidden to hear Mass even in a neighbouring canton. At one time gibbets were erected in the streets for those who should dare to speak against Mr Calvin! And we all know how Mr Calvin treated Sebastien Castellion, Bolsec, and above all Michel Servet.

in accord with the avowals of the Duke of Anjou. Consequently the theory of premeditation, or that of any understanding with Rome, is quite out of the question." Soldan, *la France et la Saint-Barthélemy*, translated from the German by Ch. Schmidt, Paris, 1855, pp. 34-35.

[1] The *Inquisition*, according to recent works, Paris, 1902, p. 42.

In 1593, in Sweden at the diet of Upsala, Catholic worship was absolutely forbidden and all Catholics excluded from public service. Charles IX., the conqueror of Sigismond, put to death all those Catholic governors named by the latter who refused to abjure. In 1604 at the diet of Norkæping it was decided that every prince or king of Sweden who should renounce the Lutheran religion or should marry a princess of another religion should forfeit all right to the crown; that whoever should persuade a prince to change his religion should be declared a traitor to the country, and that every Swede who gave up the Lutheran religion should be deprived of his goods to the advantage of his nearest relatives and should be banished from the kingdom. Thus in Sweden, as well as in Denmark and Norway for more than two centuries, the Catholic religion was completely prohibited. Every Catholic was exiled and his property confiscated, whilst any priest found in one of these three countries incurred the penalty of death.[1]

In 1582, as soon as the Protestants obtained the upper hand in the Dutch Netherlands, they forbade Catholics to worship publicly. At the congress of Cologne, 1673, the Dutch declared that they would rather abandon ten of their towns than grant toleration to Catholics. Even after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes their opinion did not change.[2] With

[1] De Meaux, *La Réforme et la politi que française en Europe*, vol. i. pp. 124-125; also Geijer, vol. iii. ch. vii.; and Theiner, *La Suède et le Saint-Siège*, vol. iii. pp. 223-243.

[2] On this intolerance see Mignet, *Négoc. rélatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, 1673, vol. iv. "Such toleration, said the Dutch, would shake the very foundations of their State; and the republic of the United Provinces would rather give up ten places and engage in perpetual warfare than grant it."

regard to the abolition of the Test Act and of the Penal Laws by James II., an Englishman asked the Grand Pensionary of Holland what were the sentiments of the Prince and Princess of Orange in this respect. Fagel replied that William and his wife would not be adverse to allowing Catholics and other nonconformists the right to exercise their religion privately and without ostentation, but that it would be necessary to preserve in all their vigour those laws by which Roman Catholics were excluded from all public service, as well as all those laws which confirmed and assured the Protestant religion against the attacks of Roman Catholics. "It is certain," wrote Fagel, "that the Protestant religion is, by the grace of God and by the laws of Parliament, the public and established religion of Great Britain, and that these laws will only admit to Parliament or to any other public service those who are Protestants and not Roman Catholics. . . . It is certain also that there is no kingdom, nor republic, nor any body or society of men whatever which has not made laws for its safety and thus provided against all attack."

However, were not such practices opposed to what took place in the United Provinces? Here were not Catholics admitted to public posts? "No," replied Fagel, "you make a great mistake; it is true that they are not excluded from military service; that would have been really too hard, because in the first foundation of our state, they helped us in the defence of public liberty. But they are excluded in express terms from all part in the government and from all the offices of the police and of justice because it is just in these offices that they might use a baneful influence."[1] Catholic marriages were only valid on

[1] Letters of Fagel to Stewart, 4th November 1687, in Dumont,

condition that they were performed before a pastor.

But here again "liberal" England is foremost in the fray. In the reign of Elizabeth, to bring or receive a document from Rome containing a judicial act is counted treason and punishable by death. Simple objects blessed by the Pope are emblems of sedition; to wear them is a crime worthy of prison. It is a capital crime to receive a priest from abroad or even to accept his hospitality. Every Catholic apostle in England has death constantly hanging over his head and over the heads of those who approach him.[1]

A statute enacted in 1593 obliged Catholics to remain at home and forbade them to go farther than five miles away without incurring the penalty of forfeiting their property or of being banished if they happened to possess none.

M. de Meaux writes: "The labouring class and the artisans are constantly ground down by fines, are flogged or ear-marked with a red-hot iron when they cannot pay, and have no alternative but to go to Protestant churches or to perish miserably. At the same time the better-class families have not an instant's peace in their homes. They are perpetually

Corps diplomatique, vol. vii. 2nd part, p. 151. It is objected that there was in the Dutch Netherlands a great tolerance with regard to Catholics because of the prevalent religious indifference. Fagel here recalls what was usual with regard to public functions, and as to the rest, we may believe Iurieu (Letter VIII. p. 432) when he declares that in some of the Netherland provinces there was "no convenience for papists. When they are discovered," he says, "they are not protected from the violence of the people." *Cf.* Bossuet, sixth note, No. 84.

[1] De Meaux, *La Réforme et la politique française en Europe*, vol. i. p. 43.

tormented by bands of men who come to search, hunt about, pillage, and ravage the house of their ancestors and to take the inmates to prison. . . . These searches seem to have spread more dismay among the whole body of Catholics than even the sight of the gibbets at Tyburn, and that was truly a horrible sight; the executioner who hanged the martyr afterwards cut him open and tore out his bowels without waiting for him to die."[1]

Under Elizabeth two hundred Catholics suffered thus, the most of them being priests. Eighty-six died in prison, among them the Earl of Arundel, heir to the most noble house in England. It would be impossible to count the number of those who were imprisoned, flogged, exiled, or ruined by fines and confiscations. Already before the year 1588 a contemporary could count twelve hundred by their names, and declared that many more existed.

I will spare you the relation of certain atrocious and exquisite punishments, which would harrow your nerves as well as arouse your compassion. But still I would like to remind you of the martyrdom of Cuthbert Maine, the first who had the honour of entering the bloody way, a young Anglican clergyman who had been converted and ordained priest. He was arrested in the house of a Catholic gentleman named Tregian, who had offered him a refuge, and was imprisoned in a horrible dungeon. Several heads of accusation were exhibited against him at his trial, as:

1st. That he had obtained from Rome a Bull, con-

[1] De Meaux, as quoted, pp. 46-47; from *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 3rd series, London, 1877, and *Records of the English Catholics*. *Journaux de Douai*, Introduction, p. lxxxi., and Appendix, p. 357.

taining matter of absolution of the queen's subjects. This was no other than a printed copy of the Bull of the Jubilee of the foregoing year, which they had found among his papers.

2nd. That he had published this Bull at Golden, in the house of Mr Tregian.

3rd. That he had maintained the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, and denied the queen's supremacy.

4th. That he had brought into the kingdom an *Agnus Dei*, and delivered it to Mr Tregian.

5th. That he had said Mass in Mr Tregian's house.[1]

There were no sufficient proofs of any of these heads of the indictment which were followed by sentence of death in which this extraordinary preamble was made, "*that where plain proofs were wanting, strong presumptions ought to take place*; of which, according to the logic of the judge, they had a good store in the cause in hand, knowing the prisoner to be a popish priest, and an enemy of the queen's religion."

"His life was offered him[2] if he would renounce his religion; which when he refused to do, they pressed him at least to swear upon the Bible, that the queen was the supreme head of the Church of England, assuring him of his life if he would do this; but if he refused it he must then be hanged, drawn, and quartered, according to sentence. Upon this he took the Bible into his hands, made the sign of the cross upon it, kissed it, and said, the queen neither ever was, nor is, nor ever shall be, the head of the Church of England."

[1] Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, p. 17.
[2] Challoner, *ibid.* pp. 18-19.

"He was to be drawn a quarter of a mile to the place of execution. . . . When he came to the market-place of the town, where they had on purpose erected a gibbet of unusual height, being taken off the sledge, he knelt down and prayed: when he was on the ladder, and the rope about his neck, he would have spoken to the people, but the justices would not suffer him, but bid him say his prayers, which he did very devoutly. And as the hangman was about to turn the ladder, one of the justices spoke to him in this manner: 'Now, villain and traitor, thou knowest that thou shalt die, and therefore tell us whether Mr Tregian and Sir John Arundel did know of these things which thou art condemned for; and also what thou dost know by them?' Mr Maine answered him very mildly: 'I know nothing of Mr Tregian and Sir John Arundel, but that they are good and godly gentlemen; and as for the things I am condemned for, they were only known to me and to no other.' Then he was cast off the ladder saying: 'In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum' and knocking his breast. . . . He was indeed cut down alive, but falling from the beam, which was of an unusual height, with his head upon the side of the scaffold, on which he was to be quartered, he was by that means almost quite killed; and therefore but little sensible of the ensuing butchery. His quarters were disposed of, one to Bodwin, one to Tregny, one to Barnstaple, and the fourth to remain at Launceston Castle: his head was set upon a pole at Wadebridge, a noted highway."

As to his host Tregian, he endured henceforth that long martyrdom which, lasting for thirty years, led him, exhausted, ruined, ill-treated, from dungeon to dungeon, while his noble family, stripped

of everything, had to depend on the charity of Catholics.[1]

Protestants are not slow in asking our pity for the constancy and sufferings of those of their sect who died for their beliefs; we do not blame them, but is the history of the martyrs which they made less touching and less worthy of respect? Read, for example, the account of the arrest of the Jesuit Campion and his companions, the odious means by which the fury of the populace was excited against them on a long march, the perfidies of captious questioners, the cruel cynicism of judges, the noble answers of the accused. The scenes in Paris under Henry II. are well equalled. "If we had looked upon death with fear," said Campion, before the judge, "we should not have embraced this kind of life where we have death constantly before our eyes. But because we thought it to be our duty and because we knew that we were not lords of our lives, we have defended them as long as possible, and we have been careful to repeat and to destroy the accusations brought against us. You see how much use this has been!"

"For the rest, I think it is manifest to everybody that we are not all condemned for any offence to Her Majesty but because of our religion. The witnesses have not brought forward any proofs that had not regard to religion: the conjectures, if one had to rely only on conjectures, are not strong enough. Finally, supposing that every thing that has been said against us were true the whole accusation is not so serious but what we could annul it by entering just once into your temple. It is then for religion that we die, and as there is no more honourable cause in the eyes

[1] Destombes, *La persécution religieuse en Angleterre, sous Elisabeth et les premiers Stuarts*, vol. i. pp. 243-252.

of God or man I do not see why we should refuse to die. As far as I am concerned then you may pass judgment on me according to your conscience. I have nothing further to add to my defence."

The judge then passed sentence.

"You must go to the place from whence you came, there to remain until ye shall be drawn through the open city of London upon hurdles to the place of execution, and there be hanged and let down alive, and your privy parts cut off, and your entrails taken out and burnt in your sight; then your heads to be cut off, and your bodies to be divided in four parts to be disposed of at Her Majesty's pleasure. And God have mercy on your souls."[1]

The sentence passed, Campion with glowing eyes chanted the Te Deum, the six who were condemned with him doing likewise.

Brian, one of his companions, does not astonish us less by his constancy. Arrested during his sleep, he was immediately led away to prison, where he was left for several days without food. At last some nourishment was brought to him, and to quench his burning thirst he was allowed to catch the water which dropped from the roof of his cell in his hat. In a first cross-examination he was asked in what places he had said Mass and whose confessions he had heard. Brian kept silence. To make him answer needles were pushed under the nails of his feet and hands. The missionary offered his hands calmly, and with eyes raised to heaven recited the *Miserere* and asked God to forgive his executioners. Other tortures were continuously inflicted and the martyr's body was one mass of wounds when he was led back to prison. There he was once more placed on the rack, and

[1] Quoted from Life of Edward Campion.

fainted in the arms of the torturers, who threw cold water on his face to bring him back to life and to his cruel torments. These cruelties were the subject of unseemly jokes on the part of Elizabeth's officers. Norton, who had presided at the examination, boasted that he had made him a foot longer than God had. The lieutenant of the Tower was not ashamed to hit the sufferer in the face whilst he was being tortured on the rack. When the condemned were being dragged on hurdles for three miles they were insulted by the populace, wounded by stones, and besmirched with mud while the ministers urged them to apostasy.[1]

And let it not be said that these abominations were excused by the contest. Study the Catholic martyrology of England in the seventeenth century, when the strife was long since over, or the history of this pretended papistical plot of 1678, seven years before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a plot which was absolutely concocted, but which served to throw two thousand Catholics in prison, to banish thirty thousand from London and its suburbs, to cause the execution of many, among them Coleman, secretary to the Duke of York, and the venerable Viscount de Stafford. Note, too, the lengthy persecution of the Irish, disinherited, starved, sold as slaves, bled to death. Mark the English Catholics treated as outcasts and subjected to exclusion laws until 1829! And it is the authors of these laws and of these acts who reproach us for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes! The French legislation with regard to Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was similar to the Protestant legislation with regard to Catholics. Yet the French government did not indulge in infamous judicial farces as did the English government!

[1] Destombes, *La persécution religieuse en Engleterre*, vol. ii. chap. i.

Can it be said perhaps that if Protestants made dire laws against Catholics at anyrate they adhered to the law and did not have recourse to warfare or public violence? But it was they who were the first to begin religious wars. Was it not in the lifetime of Luther, even, that the German Protestant princes leagued together against the Emperor Charles V.? Was it not on the very morrow of the arch-heretic's death that armed warfare began? In France, as I have shown, it was they who began the civil wars of 1562 and of 1567. In Germany too, in the seventeenth century, who inaugurated the never-to-be-atoned-for Thirty Years' War if not they who on 23rd May 1615 threw out of the castle windows at Prague three Catholic members of the Government Council? Gustavus Adolphus mercilessly massacred the garrison of Frankfurt-am-Oder, composed of seven thousand men. And what can be said of Mansfeld's soldiers, who threw defenceless peasants into the midst of their own burning cottages and who killed like dogs all those who wished to save themselves, and threw women on to the fire, having first cruelly outraged them? These crimes were so terrible that the Swedish Protestant, General Bannes, declared that it would be no matter for astonishment if the earth opened to swallow up such heinous abominations.

Still more bloodthirsty than Gustavus Adolphus was the Puritan Cromwell, who waged in Ireland—I quote the Protestant historian Macaulay—a war "resembling that which Israel waged on the Canaanites, smote the idolaters with the edge of the sword, so that great cities were left without inhabitants, drove many thousands to the Continent, shipped off many thousands to the West Indies, and supplied the void thus made by pouring in numerous colonists, of

Saxon blood, and of Calvinistic faith."[1] He had no respect even for oaths, and during the capitulation he massacred for five days long the defenders and the inhabitants of Drogheda.

Do you wish for other examples of violence outside a legitimate warfare?

In 1566 the Protestants of Flanders and of Artois began by breaking the crosses and the statues of the saints. Then they proceeded to invade towns and villages, breaking into chapels, churches, and convents, destroying the altars and sacred vessels. More than four hundred churches were pillaged in three days, and soon after the whole of the Netherlands underwent the same fate.

At Haarlem on 29th May 1578, which was the feast of Corpus Christi, the soldiers fell on the Catholics, ransacked churches and convents, and handed them over to the reformers.

In July 1572 the Franciscans of Gorkum and nine other priests, having first been subjected to numerous ill-treatments, were taken by the soldiers, who kept striking them in procession round a gibbet, after which they were hanged in an old barn to the number of nineteen. Their noses and ears were slit, their bodies ripped open and the fat torn out, which fat was afterwards sold round about the country.

In France after 1561 the sack of Saint-Médard at Paris and also of several other churches had for result the act of Parliament which authorised the people to massacre any who should be found pillaging the churches.[2]

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, chap. i. p. 106. (Everyman's Library.)

[2] "Relying on this act," says a Catholic historian, "the people indulged in a strange slaughter of Protestants in revenge for their

Normandy, Dauphiny, and Provence were reeking with crime. In 1561 armed Protestants seized the principal churches in several towns of Languedoc. Finding themselves the masters at Montauban, Castres, Béziers, and at Nîmes, they prohibited all Catholic worship in these four towns, ousted the religious from their convents, and obliged them to hear sermons in those churches whence the priests had been driven out. At Montauban they drove the people with whip and cat-of-nine-tails. Those who resisted were imprisoned and flogged until the blood came; several died under the blows.[1] From his retreat Calvin applauded these bloody scenes. They were, as he wrote in his preface, "his consolation, his joy, and his happiness."

All this is previous to the famous[2] massacre of Vassy of 1st March 1562, which the Protestants like to give as the cause of the first religious war so as to make the responsibility fall on the Catholics. Besides, in 1562 the factious Protestants were all ready for war, and only waiting for a pretext to begin.

Ten years before Saint Bartholomew Protestants had indulged in local massacres similar to those which were to be witnessed in many provinces in 1572. Already in 1562 at Orleans they dragged an old man of eighty, named Saint-Euverte, through the streets, beat him unmercifully, and hanged him. They poisoned six grey friars, killed the curé of

insolence, oppressions, and cruelties." *Histoire dé notre temps, attribueé à Piguerre* (Catholic), bk. vi. chap. xii.

[1] See this fact mentioned in the letters of Joyeuse to Connétable, 16th September, 24th and 28th October, 2nd November 1561, *Mémoires-Journaux du duc de Guise,* Michand and Poujoulat collection, vol. vi. pp. 466-471. *Mémoires de Jean Philippi,* 1561-1562. Petitot collection, vol. xxxiv.

[2] However, Calvin blamed the atrocities of the Baron des Adrets.

Saint-Paterne, and threw the canon of the cathedral from a tower. In the village of Pat, about six or seven miles distant from Orleans, they burned twenty-five Catholics—among them several children—in the clock tower. When two of these children jumped down to escape the flames, these furies threw them back again.

At Angoulême, which had surrendered on condition "that the Catholics, ecclesiastics, and others should remain in safety," the capitulation treaty was violated on the very next day. The guardian of the Franciscan convent was hanged on a tree and strangled; Brother Viroleau was mutilated and put to death; Brother Avril, who was eighty years old, had his head smashed; thirty Catholics, who had taken refuge in the house of a townsman named Papin, were killed; some, bound two and two together, died of hunger; others were stretched on cords and their bodies sawn through the middle; whilst others again were bound to stakes and slowly roasted to death.

At Nîmes on 30th September 1567 the Protestants massacred and threw into a well seventy-two Catholic prisoners, then they killed forty-eight defenceless people in the country. In 1568 at Melle and at Fontenay they slaughtered the garrison, which had surrendered; on 24th August 1569 at Pau they assassinated a number of Catholic gentlemen; while on 29th September 1569, the feast of Saint Michael (whence the name *Michelade* given to the massacre), they slaughtered during seven hours some Catholics whom they had imprisoned in the vaults of a church.

In 1570, at Orthez according to certain accounts, as many as two thousand Catholics were butchered.[1]

[1] This fact has been denied by Protestant historians. M. de

In Dauphiny two hundred and fifty-six priests and one hundred and twelve religious were put to death. At le Quercy all the priests, numbering one hundred and seventy, were killed at Lauzette, where they had taken refuge.

Moreover, whenever priests in sufficient number could be found the Protestants hunted them out to make them undergo the most varied and exquisite tortures that a ferocious imagination could suggest to hangmen.

At Saint-Macaire, in Gascony, they ripped open the bodies of the priests and gradually wound their entrails round sticks; others they buried alive. At Mans they hacked off a piece from a priest's body, roasted it, and made him eat it, then they opened his stomach to see how it was digesting. In another place they tore out a priest's entrails, and filling his stomach with oats they used it as a manger for their horses to eat out of. Numbers of similar cruelties will be found related in a document entitled "Horrible cruelties of the Huguenots in France," published in the sixth volume of *Curious Records of the History of France by Cimber and Danjou.*[1]

With such deeds on one's conscience it is hardly

Meaux, *Les luttes religieuses en France*, pp. 124-5, notes 2 and 3. Montgomery, the executioner of Béarn, was condemned and executed in effigy.

[1] Desclée, the publisher (Lille and Bruges), reprinted a few years ago, suppressing the obscenities that Protestant fanatics often committed with their cruelties, the *Théatre des cruantés des hérétiques* in the sixteenth century. This relates the cruelties of the English Schismatics under Henry VIII., the horrible excesses of the French Huguenots against Catholics, the barbarous perpetrations of the Calvinistic knaves in the Netherlands. (With illustrations). This would be a good book to present to those who are always harping about the Inquisition. The pictures would make a good pair with those of the Inquisition hawked in our markets.

seemly to denounce and deplore so loudly the massacre of Saint Bartholomew. This is said without the least intention of excusing this crime, of which the heavy responsibility must be borne, as I have already shown, by Catherine de Medici and not by the Church.[1]

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We have but one more question to deal with.

What have been the results obtained by such violent proceedings as the Inquisition, tortures, and religious wars? By the Inquisition Italy and Spain were promptly rid of those Protestants, who formed but a small minority. Thanks to the League and religious wars France has remained largely Catholic. These victories must be added to those which I have already related and which were gained by more Apostolic means.

Let us remark too with the Baron von Hübner, the famous historian of Pope Sixtus V., that, in spite of this recourse to force authorised by the customs of the time and practised equally by the Protestants, the Catholic reaction appeared henceforward "as a purely religious movement, born within the depths of conscience," while the Protestant cause was the symbol of political and interested projects. "In this conflict," says M. von Hübner, "all the moral advantages were on the side of the Church."

It is true and we should rejoice thereat; however, we are not absolved from the excesses which were committed in the name of the good cause. We do not desire the return of practices explained by a social state which has disappeared; in thinking of former evils we shall be passionately attached to

[1] M. l'abbé Vacaudard proved this still more recently in the *Revue du Clergé*.

religious peace; but, if this religious peace is violated too often and too strongly at our expense, violated so far as to threaten the existence of our beliefs, we shall then know how to learn the lesson taught by our forefathers that there are some cases where in the defence of faith one must risk all—even life.

VIII

Has Protestantism been—as stated—more favourable than Catholicism to moral and spiritual progress? [1]

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Institute of France at a public session on the 15th Germinal of the year X. (1802) propounded the following question:—*What has been the influence of the Lutheran reformation on the political situation of different European states and on the progress of knowledge?*

The prize essay was entitled: *Essay on the spirit and influence of the reformation of Luther.* Its author was Charles Villers.

The choice of such a subject by the Institute in 1802, the manner in which it was dealt with by Villers, the almost classical authority enjoyed by this work for a long time; all this is worth consideration just at the moment when we are about to begin the last series of our lectures, a series which will be devoted to the study of this problem in various aspects.

[1] For the bibliography of this chapter refer to the authority mentioned in the opening pages. Also to the articles by Eugene Folletête which appeared in 1904 in the *Revue de Fribourg* (Switzerland), and published separately (for sale in Paris at Bloud's). Mgr. Freppel, *Etude sur le protestantisme*, Paris: Brey et Retane, 1883, 72 pages in 8vo. Hammerstein, *Katholizismus und Protestantismus*, Treves, 1894. Krose, *Der Einfluss der Konfession auf die Sittlichkeit nach den Ergebnissen der Statistik*, Fribourg in Brisgau, 1900. I must particularly offer my thanks to M. l'abbé Clavequin-Rosselot, M.D., who collected a great number of statistics for me which had been published and noticed by him in the *Journal de la Santé*.

Has Protestantism been, as is stated, more favourable than Catholicism to the moral and spiritual progress, to the intellectual progress, to the social and political progress of modern nations?

First of all with regard to the choice of this subject on the morrow of the Concordat. Was it not a protest of what France counts as most enlightened against the official re-establishment of Catholicism, twenty-four years after the death of Voltaire, and some years after the publication of the Volney's famous work, *Les Ruines* in 1791 and of Dupuis, *De l'origine des cultes*, 1794? It was the echo of the words used by many State Councillors who only conformed to the will of the First Consul by seeking to escape from it:—"Ah, well," they said one to another, "let us become Protestants and it will not affect us."

No religion at all would have been the programme preferred by this Institute where the name of God could not be pronounced without evoking a scoffing smile. How things have changed since then! But as the Master's will had made itself felt it was a propitious moment to call up comparisons unpleasant to Catholicism and to exalt those who had been the first to fight against it. It was an opportunity to be seized.

The prize essay was indeed an able eulogy of Luther's work from a political and intellectual point of view. It most certainly is not the work of a passionate sectarian, and the author shows more than once by the breadth of his judgments that his sympathies for Protestantism are not extended as far as the dogmas and institutions which give Protestantism its Christian character and make of it a religi-- But when it is a question of Catholicism con with Protestantism and of the influence of Cath

over minds, institutions, and morals all the philosophy of the *Essai sur les Mœurs* and all the calumnies of Voltaire rise to the fore.

For example, the author says: "The court of Rome had adopted and made prevalent a system of suffocation and of obscuratism." Or again: "The maxim of the Middle Ages was to keep minds absolutely in the dark on certain subjects, to empty them, so to speak, so as to be able to fill them at will afterwards and to leave room for superstition."[1]

Luther was the deliverer of reason and the revenger of common-sense; by this alone he has contributed to the progress of knowledge; in declaring for free research and in throwing off the yoke of Rome he has brought into the world the principles of liberty of mind, of conscience, and of politics, and thus has brought back humanity to the way of progress.

Others more religious than Villers were yet to show that Luther was the harbinger of the true moral and religious life.

Half-a-century after Villers, in 1854, a French reformed minister, M. Napoleon Roussel, published two octavo volumes under the title of: *Les nations catholiques et les nations protestantes comparées sous le triple rapport du bien-être des lumières et de la moralité*,[2] or "The Catholic and Protestant nations compared under the threefold aspect of prosperity, knowledge, and morality." This author adopted with violent partiality the ideas of Charles Villers.

A few years after our misfortunes of 1870, which gave an appearance of truth and actuality to the theory of the superiority of Protestant nations, a most distinguished Belgian economist, Emile de Laveleye, *de Belgique* an article thirty pages

[2] Paris, 1854: Meyrueis.

long, which contained all these arguments, and presented them to the public in a lively and popular style.[1] This article was published separately, and passed through thirty editions in one year. The prosperity of Protestant nations and the inferiority of Catholic nations, he explained in other words, are due to reasons of cult and not of race. It is the Catholic and Protestant principles which vary the prosperity of the nations professing them. Protestantism is a religion of light and liberty and consequently of progress; the moral and religious standard is higher with Protestants than Catholics; it is an essential element of the greatness of nations. With Protestant people the political and social state guarantees interior peace, while Catholic nations are doomed to agitation and disorder. The Catholic Church dreams of recovering her supremacy; one shudders at the thought of the evils she would scatter over Europe were she to succeed.

In 1899 the result of the Spanish-American War seemed to some zealous Protestants the propitious moment for bringing out Laveleye's article again. Consequently they garnished it with examples which they doubtless considered irrefutable and republished it.

It must be admitted that these publications have produced the desired effect. The ideas set forth in 1802 by Charles Villers under the distinguished patronage of the Institute, revived and strengthened at various times during the nineteenth century, have long been those of almost all the intellectual world. They are still part of the foundation of the official code of instruction, and we find their traces even in history manuals which are otherwise very excellent.

[1] Paris: Germer-Baillière.

These divers assertions hold for many minds the rank of a final judgment and constitute a kind of historic dogma. Alas, one even comes across excellent Catholics who are persuaded, with a singular naïveté, not only of the intellectual and political superiority of Protestants, but also of their moral superiority!

However, refutations have not been wanting. M. de Laveleye was immediately answered by a compatriot, the Baron Haulleville. Previously, in 1848, Balmès had already supplied Catholics with a number of good arguments in three volumes, which were somewhat vague in development and loose in style perhaps, entitled *Protestantism and Catholicism compared.* In 1852 Auguste Nicolas published his book, *On Protestantism and all heresies in their relations with socialism.* In 1869 the Abbé Martin, curé of Ferney, near Geneva,[1] wrote and published: *The future of Protestantism and Catholicism*, which is a curious work full of original views that the excitement of the Council and then that of the war prevented from obtaining the hearing it merited but which may still be read with profit. It is four years since Father Flamérion's pamphlet appeared, *On the comparison of the prosperity of Catholic and Protestant nations. One of the useful series: Science and Religion.*[2] I have not yet mentioned the great historical works which are inexhaustible mines of precious information, like those of Doellinger, *The Reformation, its interior development and the results it has produced in the heart of Lutheran society*, or that of Mgr. Janssen, *Germany and the Reformation*, works which have been translated into French, and which all may consult.[3]

[1] Paris: Tolra and Haton, octavo, 608 pages.
[2] Paris: Bloud, 1901.
[3] See the bibliography of the fourth lecture.

Finally, in these latter days the admirable inquiry by M. Georges Goyan on *Religious Germany* (*l'Allemagne religieuse*), rich in facts and ideas, impartial and lifelike, was of a nature to bring enlightenment to unprejudiced minds.[1] But error is obstinate, and among ourselves there are many who have the bad habit of more willingly accepting the assertion of adversaries than of friends. Let us take up then this necessary challenge from the ground of moral and spiritual life.

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"Everybody," says M. de Laveleye, "is agreed in saying that the strength of nations depends on their morality. . . . It seems to be an accepted fact that the moral standard of Protestants is higher than that of Catholics. Even religious writers admit this and explain it by the fact that the former are more faithful than the latter to their religion—an explanation which I believe to be true. Read the novels of France, go to the most popular theatres; adultery in every shape and every form forms the basis of every plot. The novels and comedies which are the most successful are those which should be strictly banished from every honest home circle. In England and in Germany this is not the case. The cause for this reaches far back. Gallantry has become the dominant note of works of fiction and a national characteristic. A lady-killer is the most popular of French sovereigns. In the countries which adopted the Reformation, the Puritan spirit has put a bridle on this moral laxity and has brought about a severity which may seem excessive but which has stamped the people with an incomparable morality.

[1] *L'Allemagne, religieuse.* Le Protestantisme. Paris: Perin. Quoted from the fourth edition of 1901.

"In Catholic countries those who have wished to combat the omnipotence of the Church have borrowed their arms, not from the Gospels, but from the spirit of the Renaissance and of paganism. There are two ways of attacking the Church, one is by preaching a purer and severer Christianity than her own (to show that she has wandered from the doctrine of Christ), the other is by attacking dogmas by sarcasm and by setting the senses against her moral commandments. Luther, Calvin, Knox, and Zwingli took the first way, Rabelais and Voltaire the second. It is evident that the first, relying on the Gospels, must strengthen moral sentiment, while the latter can only succeed by ruining it. Whence it comes that nearly all French authors who have worked for free thought have been tainted by immorality. . . . In England and in America it is different: the most determined partisans of liberty are precisely those who profess the strictest morals, the Puritans and Quakers. While Bossuet was formulating the theory of absolutism, Milton wrote that of the Republic. It was the Puritans who founded liberty in England and in the United States. On one side the writers who are religious and moral preach servitude, whilst those who wish for liberty respect neither religion nor morals. On the other, on the contrary, the same men defend religion, morality, and liberty.

"Mark the consequences; compare the private life of the men who made the revolution of 1648 in England or who refounded the republic in America with that of the men of the French Republic. The former are of irreproachable morals, of an honesty without a slur, of a severity of principle almost far-fetched. The latter, except a few fanatics like Saint

nd Robespierre, are, for the most part, of loose

morals. . . . To found a state, the Christianity of Penn and of Washington is a better cement than the philosophy of Vergniaud, of Robespierre, and of Mirabeau. Without passing judgment on the two doctrines one can gauge the results they have produced. . . .

"Nearly all the French writers have exalted the Renaissance at the expense of the Reformation, because by a larger breadth of view it brought humanity a more complete enfranchisement. But facts do not support their opinion. The countries which accepted the Reformation are decidedly in advance of those which stopped short at the Renaissance. This is because the Reformation contained a moral force which was wanting in the Renaissance. And moral force is, with science, the fountain-head of a nation's prosperity. The Renaissance was a return to antiquity, the Reformation a return to the Gospel, and the Gospel being superior to ancient tradition was to produce better fruit."[1]

And further on, when dealing with the question of faith and religious practice, M. de Laveleye adds: "Another reason for the inferiority of Catholic people is that the religious sentiment is much less in the intelligent and higher classes than in Protestant countries." Here are the reasons which he gives: "The excess of superstition leads inevitably to incredulity. . . . Catholicism engenders such complete indifference with regard to religious matters that even the strength to frankly leave the Church is wanting. One sees Protestants become Catholics because conserving some faith they seek the true worship and believe that Rome offers it to them. Very few Catholics become Protestants either because they

[1] De Laveleye, pp. 12-15. We quote from the pamphlet, 30th edition, 1876.

have become very hostile or indifferent to religion."

We might challenge one by one each of the assertions, each of the oracles that M. de Laveleye enunciates with so much assurance. We will grant him without difficulty that morality and religious sentiment are the two greatest forces and the strongest supports of a nation; we will not deny the superiority of the Gospel to antiquity, nor even that of the Reformation to the Renaissance, but we might ask him if German and English literature were not already characterised by a severer element than ours at the time when England and Germany were Catholic like France; if in our own literature he has not been pleased to confine himself to one vein, outside religious literature, the Gallic and Rabelaisian vein; if the literature of the most Catholic nation in Europe, namely Spain, is frivolous and demoralising; whether, nearer home, the strict Protestants have joined and still do join the ranks of the moral free-thinkers—even freemasons, to combat religion, and at the same time morals (because with us religion is Catholicism); if the English Puritans whom he exalts and who, narrow-minded fanatics that they were, deemed worthy of death all those who were not *saints* after their own fashion, were not precisely those who engendered the sceptical and libertine generation of the Stuart Restoration? M. de Laveleye is pleased to compare the Republican Milton with the absolutist Bossuet, but he forgets one thing, namely, that the absolutist Bossuet only took and applied to Catholicism the theories of the Anglican bishops of James and of Charles I. on the divine right of kings. It is perfectly true that the Christianity of Penn and of Washington is a better cement wherewith to found

a state than the philosophy of French revolutionaries. But would M. de Laveleye tell us whence came the philosophy of the French revolutionaries? Was it not that of the "philosopher of Geneva"? And was not the philosophy of Rousseau closely allied to that of Protestantism? I might continue, but I prefer to waive discussions of details and to seek evidence from facts. As I cannot take all history, I will take, if it pleases you, two epochs—that which immediately followed the Reformation so that you may consider it in the flower of its first virtue and the contemporary times when its principles have all borne fruit.

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In his exaggerated way Luther declared that before himself no one had had the least notion of religion or even of the simplest duties of life: "I do not fear to say that if all these Papists who fatigue us so with their writings were heaped up, melted, and distilled seven times not the seventh part of a tongue would remain capable of explaining to us even one of these articles! (Jesus Christ, Baptism, etc.). To teach us, for example—I will not say what a prince ought to be to his subjects—but only the manner in which a servant should behave to her mistress or a man-servant to his master."

Luther preached his doctrine, which was accepted by the larger part of Germany. Henceforth, no doubt, each knows his duty and accomplishes it as far as human strength allows. Let us listen to Luther's contemporaries.

First comes Erasmus, who had been the herald of the reformer, who had applauded his beginnings but who had separated from him when he had seen the results obtained by his doctrine of bondage of the will (determinism) and of faith without works. One

day Erasmus wrote to Melanchthon, with whom he had kept on friendly terms: "What is there more detestable in the world than to expose ignorant people to hear public discussions on such subjects as *good works, merits, good resolutions*, pure heresies, and to profess that our will is not free, that all happens necessarily, fatally, and that it does not much matter what are or may be a man's actions?"

The preaching of such ideas, taken literally by the masses, could only lead to the most dangerous consequences. "I see," again writes Erasmus to the Duke of Saxony, "a new race arise beyond the Gospels, a race which is insolent, insubordinate, and without shame, which will end by becoming a burden to Luther himself."[1]

In a letter addressed to the doctor of the Archbishop of Mainz, Heinrich Stromner, he describes the character of the sect more fully. "The new Gospel has at least the advantage of showing us a new race of man, haughty, impudent, cunning, and blasphemous, divided among themselves, quarrellers, seditious, furious, and who, to speak frankly, I have so great an antipathy to that if I knew a place in the world free of them I would not hesitate to take refuge therein."[2]

In another letter, written to Bucer, the ex-Dominican, then the head of the reformation at Strasbourg, Erasmus gave the following description of the fruits borne by the independence of certain spirits with regard to the Church and its Laws. "Those who boast that they have thrown off the mask of the Pharisee, who reject every episcopal command

[1] Erasmus, Ep. L. xix. p. 604; Doellinger, vol. i. p. 12.

[2] Erasmus, Ep. L. xviii. p. 503, quoted by Doellinger, *La Reforme*, etc., vol. i. p. 12.

and the abstinence ordered by the Church now pray not at all, are worse and more hypocritical than before, and do not obey even the commandments of God, but have become the slaves of their belly and their passions."[1]

Take notice that the contempt of outward ceremonies has led to the abandonment of prayer, and disobedience to the commandments of the Church, has brought about forgetfulness of the commandments of God.

In a writing entitled: "Against those who vainly boast they are evangelical" (Contre ceux qui se vantent faussement d'être évangéliques) Erasmus shows still more clearly how the theory was practically interpreted by the people. . . . "Auricular confession is no longer practised, with the result that most people do not even confess to God. Fasting and abstinence are quite discarded; but drunkenness is become so much more frequent that many have only escaped Judaism to fall into sensuality. . . . Can it be only by chance that I have not met a single one of these new evangelicals who does not seem worse than before he belonged to this new sect?"[2]

Let us admit that luck was hard on Erasmus or that he saw with prejudiced eyes, and let us question other witnesses.

George Wizel was born at Bach in Hesse, he took his M.A. degree at Erfurt, finished his studies at Wittenberg, was ordained priest, fulfilled the duties of vicar of this parish, and declared himself one of the most ardent partisans of the Lutheran doctrines. He married, and was successively pastor of two parishes.

[1] Works of Erasmus, Lyons ed., vol. iii. p. 1030.
[2] Opera, vol. x. pp. 1578-1582; Doellinger, vol. i. pp. 15, 17.

However, at the end of six years Wizel left the new church, and then began for him a career of vicissitudes, trials, and persecutions which ended only with his death. Luther, Justus Jonas, Melanchthon, and the other chiefs of the Reformation followed with bitterest hatred the man whom they accused of being a deserter and whose evidence against the Reformation was all the more overwhelming because he had given it the most implicit guarantees of adherence.

What then were the reasons for which Wizel left Luther?

First of all, and this reason is a remarkable one, because he had the courage and the loyalty to submit the teachings of Luther to a serious study and a profound comparison with the Fathers: "I left my country," he said in one of his letters, "for the New Gospel, which I loved to madness. However, the more I set myself to examine thoroughly into the doctrine the less able I found its foundations (*Quo altius descendi, hoc minus probatam sectam inveni*). The study of the Fathers brought me back to the Mother Church although she was not yet purged of her dross."[1]

And he recommends all Lutherans to read the same Fathers, persuaded that they in their turn would be enlightened and would follow his example, and this is in reality what happened to most of those who had the courage to undertake this work.

It is true that Luther had previously denied this tribunal of the Fathers, on whom he pours every opprobrium, a fact much to his discredit.[2] The firm

[1] *Wicelii epistolarum libri*, iv. Leipzig, 1527. Hh. 6, quoted by Doellinger, vol. i. p. 23.

[2] On the judgments of Luther against the *Fathers*, *cf.* Doellinger, vol. i. p. 455 *sqq.*

belief that the new Christianity of Luther had only served to corrupt morals caused still more serious reflections. He wrote to a friend in 1532: "Since more than six years ago many things, but especially moral matters, began to displease me in the Evangelical Church . . . I said nothing which could please honest minds, but the most holy things were treated like children's toys, without reverence, fear, or seriousness; from one day to another one human institution was followed by another, and nowhere was the least good result to be seen from abandoning religious ceremonies."[1]

And in his *Apology*, in which in 1533 he explains the motives for which he quitted the Evangelical Church, he adds: "The more casual and worldly one is, the more is one attracted by this sect, which permits the old Adam to do all those things which would be considered grave sin in the old Church."[2]

"Is it not true that they attach no importance to the sins of their listeners? According to them evil is not to be imputed to him who believes. Do they not publish everywhere that no sin, except unbelief, is a cause of damnation to man?[3]

"These poisoned doctrines:—that works are nothing in the eyes of God, that sin is not imputed to him who has faith—these doctrines have infected us with their fatal poison."

"The love of good living, the desire for wine and debauchery has gone so far that it has ceased to be regarded as reprehensible. It is true that preachers sometimes speak against drunkenness, but unfortunately they themselves are the greatest drunkards."

[1] *Epist.* to K. K. Q. a. b. Doellinger, vol. i.
[2] L. c. B. 8, b. Doellinger, vol. i. p. 55.
[3] L. c. T. 4, a. Doellinger, vol. i. p. 56.

"Do you wish to scare away your audience? Speak to them of the necessity of good works. Do you, on the contrary, wish to attract a crowd? Rail against these same works, against those who recommend them, and against those who practise them, accompanying your words with the epithets usually used by the Lutherans—hypocrites, antichrist, reprobates, blind, idolators, and others similar. How hide the great harm done to Christianity? How deny it, how justify it?"

"Oh! the cunning sermon in which it is advised not to fast, not to confess, and not to be charitable! Here is something to ensnare two Germans instead of one. It is easy to catch people if their desires are so promptly satisfied!"

"Since the birth of Christ there have not been seen so many divorces and separations as during the fifteen years of Luther's government. . . . The table, the bed, the cash-box, constitute the Trinity which reigns nowadays."[1]

It is very evident that the people had taken Luther's doctrine with regard to works in its grossest sense.

"What!" say the new evangelicals, "do they wish me to return to good works? What have we Christians to do with that? What good are works? Did not Christ on the Cross do enough? If works are necessary it was useless for Christ to die on the Cross. If God will demand an account of what I have done then Jesus Christ has not satisfied divine justice." Such are the words which greatly flatter the people, and which penetrate so deeply into their minds that it would be difficult to efface them. There are some who would be fearful of sinning against the

different passages are quoted in Doellinger, vol. i.

blood of our Lord if they allowed themselves to perform a good action in view of salvation, so strongly are they imbued with these principles of their Master that good works are worth nothing, that they are but sin and impurity, an injury done to the blood of Jesus Christ, a denial of the Gospels, a practice incompatible with faith.

"May God preserve us from a justification producing such fruits and from a religion which makes such Christians, who are more dangerous than Turks or Tartars."[1]

One may perhaps refuse the evidence of Wizel on the pretext that he is a discontented man who wished to justify his defection by calumniating accusations.

But here is another victim of Luther's seductions who lived in another part of the country, and who, also applying the evangelical criterion to the Apostles of Lutheranism, *ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*, left the sect full of regret that he had ever belonged to it.

This third witness is Willibald Pirkheimer, senator and councillor of the town of Nuremberg, who was surnamed, said Doellinger, the Xenophon of Nuremberg because of his vast learning, his prudence, his rare powers of speech, and because of the military glory which he had acquired as a general in the service of Maximilian I.

One may judge with what enthusiasm he declared for the Reformation by the loud praises he bestowed on the doctors of Wittenberg. "The first," he announced, "who, after so many centuries, had dared raise their eyes to the light." Pirkheimer himself wrote to Pope Adrian VI. to defend Luther, whom

[1] Doellinger, vol. i. pp. 64-73.

he termed "an excellent man and one full of knowledge."[1]

Since 1524 the greater part of the inhabitants of Nuremberg had embraced the Lutheran beliefs, and already three years afterwards Pirkheimer is deploring the moral and religious state produced by the new theology: in 1527 he wrote to Vitus Beld: "The Gospel seems to have no other end for these people than to mask their carnal passions."

But it is especially in a letter written in 1528 to the architect Tchertte of Vienna that Pirkheimer describes in a still more striking manner the moral consequences of Lutheranism. "I admit," he says, "that in the beginning I was a staunch partisan of the Lutheran cause; I hoped by its means to see the bare-faced licentiousness of Rome and the knavery of its priests and monks suppressed. But our hopes have not been fulfilled, indeed things have come to such a pass that those things which scandalised us formerly now seem saintly in comparison with the evangelical licence. . . . One may easily be convinced by the behaviour of these pretended evangelicals that they have no real faith, no loyalty, no fear of God, no charity, no modesty, no morals, no taste for study or for art. As to alms-giving, there is no further question of it or of penance. What would you say if you knew the things that happen with regard to marriage? Were it not for the civil laws we should soon be, with regard to women, like Plato's Republic, that is in full promiscuousness. . . . Whilst we were in danger of the Turks it was decided to chant a litany in the chapels; but now that we have been delivered from our enemy we have hastily dispensed with the prayer."

[1] See Doellinger, vol. i. p. 156 *sqq.*

And as if to add further weight to this evidence Pirkheimer, who only re-entered the Catholic fold later, added: "If I ask you for news it is not, believe me, in the least because I have any desire to become the champion of papacy or of monks."[1]

Ulrich Zasius, a lawyer of Fribourg, with whom Pirkheimer corresponded in a friendly way, had also declared in favour of Luther in the beginning. He wrote in 1519 that "all that came to him from Luther, he received as if from an angel."

In a letter addressed to Luther himself, he called him "the phœnix of theologians, the glory of the Christian world." He had especially pronounced in favour of determinism (= unfree will) and the worthlessness of good works.

But he also was quickly disenchanted, and soon Zasius made a public speech in the University of Fribourg directed entirely against Luther, "the author of a detestable sect."[2]

Let us now examine other witnesses who remained Lutheran and who, one would have thought, would have been impelled by shame or by expediency to keep silence on the shame of their Church. They are very numerous.

There is Amsdorf for one, the theologian of Wittenberg, whom Luther had conceived the idea of making a bishop, and who had undergone the mock solemnity of a false consecration. He assures us "that Germany is as it were drowned in gluttony, drunkenness, avarice, and luxury, and that the Lutherans have really no respect for the Gospels, that they despise it as much as

[1] Quoted by Doellinger, vol. i. pp. 162, 165.

[2] *Cf.* Doellinger, vol. i. pp. 169-177, and Jan
p. 180, *sqq.*

anyone in the world, that they insult and dishonour it."[1]

Christopher Fischer, the general superintendent of Smalkalden, deplores the fact that the Lutherans take the Christian liberty preached to them in an entirely carnal sense, and under pretext that it is not by our own merits but by the sole effect of divine grace that we can be saved, they refuse to do good works and each one sins more than the other; "doubtless," he adds, "with the one idea of rendering grace more efficacious and more abundant."

Jacob Andreæ, canon and chancellor at Tübingen, does not fear to avow that "as the doctrine was preached the ancient virtues vanished and a crowd of new vices appeared in the world."

He too is not mistaken as to the logical bond between this immorality and the fundamental principles of Lutheran doctrines: "If one speaks to our Lutherans," he says, "of the serious and Christian discipline so earnestly recommended us by God and which he asks of every Christian, they regard it as new popery and new monasticism. We have been taught, they say, that faith alone can save us, the faith of Jesus Christ, who in dying for us satisfied completely for our sins. As fasting, alms-giving, and prayer cannot justify us, do not speak to us of these good works, we expect our salvation from Jesus Christ alone, we rely only on His merits and on the grace of which He is the source. And in order that the whole world may know that they are not papists and that they have no confidence in good works they are careful not to perform any. Instead of fasting they eat and drink day and night; instead of helping the poor they rob them; instead of praying they

[1] Quoted by Doellinger, vol. ii. p. 119.

blaspheme and dishonour Jesus Christ in a way that even the Turks would not have dared to do; finally, instead of Christian humility, pride and the love of display is in their hearts. Such are the morals of our evangelicals; and these good people still boast that they have faith and that they believe better than the idolatrous papists." [1]

These painful revelations were written in 1567, which show how, more than twenty years after Luther's death, the great mass of German Protestants practically interpreted the new Gospels.

Capito and Bucer, the introducers of the leaders of the Reformation into Strasbourg, tell us, first Capito, "that consciences are in a no better state under this rule, stripped of all discipline, than they were formerly under the sway of a purely exterior religion." [2] And the other, Bucer, "that corruption made further strides every day in the evangelical church; that in this church, impurity is assured to the gravest faults; that the respect formerly given to Catholic priests has given place to the contempt for pastors and their words; that the greater number of Lutherans abstain entirely from the Lord's Supper; that the vast majority of those who embraced the Reformation did so so as to give a free rein to their carnal passions, and that it was a very pleasant thing for them to hear it said that faith was sufficient for justification, etc." [3]

Finally, Melanchthon himself adds the authority of his words to all this evidence already so conclusive. Melanchthon had written this letter inserted in the *Corpus reformatorum*: "Let us continue to employ this philosophy which you and I have so lo

[1] Quoted by Doellinger, vol. ii. p. 365.

[2] Doellinger, vol. ii. pp. 14-16. [3] *Ibid.* p. 25.

practised, and in order to hide the fresh wounds which have lately been brought to our notice let us persuade others to help us in keeping them secret." [1]

But there are times when the philosophy of Melanchthon is overcome by moments of sadness and of fresh evidence, and the most painful avowals are drawn from him. Not only does he say "that all the waters of the Elbe would not be sufficient for him to weep over the evils of the Reformation," but he enters into overwhelming details.

Thus in 1545 he ranges the Lutherans into four classes: "The first comprises those who love the Gospels with a natural affection; who hate the fetters imposed on the passions by the laws and practices of the Church and who strongly approve, on the contrary, of the relaxation of discipline. These are attached to the Gospel by a blind love, because they are persuaded that it is the surest and shortest road to reach entire licence. To this class belong in general the common people, who understand neither the fundamental principles of doctrine nor the reasons for all our discussions, and who, on seeing the developments of the Gospel, show about as much interest as a cow when a new door is put up in its stable.

"The second class is composed of nobles and distinguished people—that is to say, of people who have a talent for moulding their religious convictions according to the inclinations and preferences of the governing power. There are nowadays in the princely courts a great number of these individuals, who adopt such or such a religion not because they are led by conviction but solely because by doing otherwise

[1] T. V. p. 218.

they would fear to offend the princes to whom they pay court.

"Those of the third class affect the exteriors of a rare zeal and piety, but under cover of the appearances with which they hide their real nature they seek to satisfy their unruly appetites and their carnal passions. In this category are to be found a great number of quite praiseworthy people.

"Finally, in the fourth class are the elect, unfortunately in very small numbers."[1]

It was Melanchthon who a short time before his death wrote that "to shed tears was the only thing that theologians could possibly do under existing circumstance in the interest of their cause."[2]

And finally there is Luther himself, whose avowals are numberless. Already in 1525 he began to complain.

One reads in his *Commentary on Deuteronomy*: "There is not one of our evangelicals who is not seven times worse than before he belonged to us, stealing the goods of others, lying, deceiving, eating, getting drunk, and indulging in every vice as if they had not received the Holy Word. If we have been delivered from one spirit of evil, seven others worse than the first have come to take its place."[3]

And again: "The more the Gospel is preached the worse things become. . . . Those who become evangelicals become more corrupt than they were before. Every day we unhappily experience *that the men who live under our Gospel are more uncharitable, more*

[1] *Corpus reformatorum*, vol. v. pp. 725-726. See a great number of quotations made by Doellinger, vol. i. p. 351 *sqq.*

[2] *Corpus reformatorum*, vol. ix. p. 1056; Doellinger, p. 394.

[3] Ed. Walch, vol. iii. 2727.

irascible, more greedy, more avaricious than they were before as papists."[1]

In 1531 and 1538 he declares *that he would never have begun to preach if he had foreseen so many calamities, scandals, and impieties,* and in his *Commentary on the Gospel of St John* he says: "I have often had the thought of giving up the Gospels, for so far it has but served to make people more and more cunning and more perverse."[2]

Moreover, how could the faithful Lutherans have reproduced the virtues of the primitive Church being led and instructed by pastors of whom Luther said in his *Commentary on the Prophets* there were few who "knew perfectly the commandments of God, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, or who were in a state to teach the poor people well"; . . . "people who are very able in inveighing against the pope, the monks, and the priests, but who know not what to say when it comes to developing the principles which are to overcome papism and all its errors."[3]

His friend and disciple Mathesius in the *Life of Luther* which he wrote[4] affirms that in 1539 Luther complained bitterly of the conduct of the pastors, and declared that he would be obliged to solicit the establishment of an ecclesiastical prison so as to reform these violent and undisciplined men whom the Gospel was not capable of recalling to duty.

And in 1543, that is to say three years before his death, he said to another friend, Spangenberg, that "out of 1500 to 2000 students, the most of them being theological candidates, who were at the University of

[1] Ed. Walch, vol. xiii. 2193. [2] *Ibid.* vol. vii. 2467.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. vi. 3294.
[4] Folio 118. Doellinger, vol. i. p. 288.

Wittenberg, there were hardly two or three men worthy of recommendation!"[1]

Thus the universal contempt of Lutherans for their pastors was one of the most evident results of the Reformation and one of Luther's liveliest grievances against the Germans.

"The peasants as well as the townspeople and the upper classes boast that they can do without ministers. They say that they would rather be deprived of God's Word than be charged with a useless man!"[2] . . . "A poor village pastor is nowadays the most despised man on earth; there is not a low-born peasant who does not think he has the right to tread him under foot."[3] . . . "It might be said that word had been given to starve all the ministers of the Gospel . . . so much bad will is shown by everybody."[4]

As to the frequenting of the Lord's Supper, Luther had counted on making it much easier for the new Church by suppressing the scrupulous preparation required by the Catholic Church, and which he declared only served to trouble consciences. He said that in the Roman Church this amiable and delicious Sacrament had been spoilt by mixing therewith gall and vinegar (that is to say by obliging Christians to confess and amend); that Catholic preachers spoke in such a way of the purity of conscience requisite to communicate worthily that people only approached this Sacrament in fear and trembling, and that they feared to eat the body of our Lord as they would to swallow arsenic.[5]

[1] Quoted by Doellinger, *ibid.*

[2] *Commentary on the First Ep. to the Corinthians*, ed. Walch, vol. viii. 1290.

[3] *Commentary on Psalm xlv.*, ed. Walch, vol. v. 577.

[4] *Commentary on the Prophets*, ed. Walch, vol. vi. 967.

[5] Doellinger, vol. i. pp. 323-4.

In his eyes the Eucharist was a guarantee of the remission of sin, and it was necessary to have the consciousness of one's faults to approach without fear.

This is how, according to Luther himself, this Sacrament was frequented by the Lutherans.

"The Sacrament of the altar is so neglected and so little esteemed that there is nothing judged to be less necessary."[1]

"When the Roman Church imposed this Sacrament on us as of obligation people went in crowds; nowadays we behave in so disgusting a manner that one would hardly believe that we are men, much less Christians."[2]

This is not all, not only did Luther see the immediate results of the preaching of his doctrine on the religion and morality of the Germans, but he saw, like many others, the logical relation between this depravity of morals and the fundamental principles of his dogma, and this is the point which it is most important to bring into evidence.

"When the word of God was preached for the first time twelve or fifteen years ago people came from all parts to hear it; *all were delighted at having to trouble no more about good works.* . . . But the majority see no further advantage in the possession of the Gospel than the faculty it gives them to abstain from fasting and prayer."[3]

"As soon as they hear the word liberty they can speak of nothing else and use it as an excuse to refuse the accomplishment of all kinds of duties. If I am free, say they, I can do what I like, and if I am not saved by good works, why should I trouble to impose

[1] *Catechist. Schrift*, ed. Walch, vol. x. 2666.

[2] *Ibid.* 2715.

[3] *Commentary on Saint John's Gospel*, ed. Walch, vol. vi. 2318.

privations on myself to give, for example, alms to the poor? If they do not say this in so many words, at anyrate all their actions show that such is their secret thought."[1]

"Because of the propagation of the Gospel the peasants have descended to such a degree of licentiousness that there is hardly anything they do not believe they may do. They no longer fear hell or purgatory, they are proud, gross, insolent, and greedy. We have faith, they say, that ought to be sufficient."[2]

"Imagine a law which ordains in everything and everywhere the contrary of the ten commandments of God; and you will have just the law which seems to be regulating the world."[3]

Here, then, we have the Lutheran reformation judged by itself. This is how in the second half of the sixteenth century the great religious movement ended which had raised so many hopes!

Is it a matter for surprise when the very leaders of the German Protestantism, Luther, Melanchthon, and Bucer, by a scandal which had nothing in common with even the most reprehensible weaknesses of such or such a Catholic pontiff, had authorised that derogation of principle from the moral law, namely the bigamy of the landgrave of Hesse?

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And now let us pass over three centuries. Let us visit the Germany, England, and America of to-day. We are told that Protestant nations are nowadays more moral and more religious than Catholic nations. Alas! I cannot pretend that Catholic nations, especially those where freemasonry is rampant, are all that they ought

[1] *Commentary on the Ep. to the Galatians*, ed. Walch, vol. viii. 2689.
[2] *Tischreden*, ed. Walch, xxii. 812.
[3] *Ibid.* 603.

to be. But let us confine ourselves to Protestant states; this is what we are told by the most impartial investigators.

"In general," writes M. Goyau, "in Protestant Germany, the towns and their rural suburbs have become, according to an expression familiar to certain pastors, spiritual graveyards. Throughout the world Berlin is looked upon as the type of that city which Plutarch declared to be impossible, an atheistic city. This reputation has not been usurped.

"About 1880, the impiety in Berlin reached strange limits. At this date according to the official statistics of the Evangelical Conference of Eisenach, 26 per cent. of the Protestant children were not baptised; 59 per cent. of the marriages and 80 per cent. of the burials were purely civil. Out of 100 members of the Evangelical Church 13 communicants were counted, and only 10 per cent. took the trouble to take part in the municipal elections."[1]

The middle class is completely incredulous and only keeps up a certain appearance of religious observance from a sense of the outward fitness of things. It is admirably served by pastors who are thorough men of the world and who detest doctrinal strictness more than anyone else.[2]

The socialistic masses of the people are not less sarcastic or less malignant towards the Church than with us. When, in 1878, the Pastor Stoecker came forward at a popular meeting, the socialist Most called out that "priests who drank wine and counselled water had only to settle their accounts with Heaven and that the world would soon be well rid of them." The principal collaborator of Stoecker, Wangemann,

[1] G. Goyau, *l'Allemagne religieuse, le Protestantisme*, p. 39.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 42.

was hailed at a meeting of women socialists by a general uproar and cries of "*Massenaustritt aus der Kirche!*" "Let us leave the Church in a body!"[1]

The great majority of the Berlin workpeople are atheists, and the same is to be found in nearly all the big towns of the Empire.

Even in the country districts, if there are, as with us, some parts where faith remains, there are also many districts where religious indifference is rampant. For example in Mecklemburg out of a hundred registered faithful the pastor gets about ten in his congregation.

"A Berlin professor," writes M. Goyau, "assured me that he knew from personal experience of the diminution of domestic piety in various Prussian districts. One no longer expects to hear in the highways and byways the echoes of some Bible reading or psalm singing or of any of those old familiar exercises by which Protestant families were wont to raise their hearts to God."[2]

Formerly every Protestant gloried in the Bible; he read Luther's translation, which has since fallen into disrepute because of its errors and contradictions. Nowadays, according to Paul de Lagarde, who wrote in 1890, there are but a few scrappy fragments known to the faithful, and M. Gebhardt tells us that in Thuringia the peasants are sufficiently familiar with the Bible to be able to borrow therefrom matter for witticism, and that those who wish to be edified read their book of chants, which is a collection authorised by the ecclesiastical authorities and a paraphrase of divine teaching. This kind of common prayer-book has taken the place of the sacred writings. "There

[1] G. Goyau, *l'Allemagne religieuse, le Protestantisme*, p. 205.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 46.

is no longer existing that close bond which formerly bound the consciences of the pastor and of the faithful —namely, the bond of a common familiarity with Scripture."[1]

In Brunswick the indifference borders on impiety and even on immorality. In the best parish, according to Pastor Kühne, only twenty per cent. of those engaged remain virtuous until their marriage. According to the acknowledgment of a great number of pastors the practice of religion, where it does exist, is almost entirely exterior and has no influence over morals. Messrs Hückstaed and Wittenberg, evangelical ministers, who recently made inquiries on the morality of certain districts in Prussia and Saxony, deplore this lamentable fact: "In the districts which are the most churchy (kirchlich)," they say, "immorality is as great or almost as great as in those parts which are not churchy." And more than fifteen hundred rural pastors of the Evangelical Church sent information and statistics to the directors of the inquiry![2]

"Indifference spreads and increases; hostility begins." Thus does M. Gebhardt define the attitude of the Thuringian peasants with regard to the Church. "This definition," adds M. Goyan, "is very suitable to the whole of the Protestant party of North Germany."[3]

"The Church of the Reformation," writes the Pastor Stoecker, "has, in many respects, remained without a creed, without faith, without energy, without defence. She has lost the upper classes, the *bourgeois*, the artisans in the towns, and even many of the country peasants."[4]

[1] Goyau, *l'Allemagne religieuse*, pp. 303-305. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 47-48.
[3] Quoted by Goyau, pp. 309-310. [4] *Ibid.* p. 298.

"The indifference of many circles, and those not always the worst, with regard to the Evangelical Church, results from the little confidence placed in her for the moral healthiness of the people," says Superintendent Gallwitz.[1]

And the Pastor Herman Gebhardt writes: "The dogma and morals of the peasant are very far from coinciding with the teaching of the Church; everyone allows himself to believe and to act as he thinks fit."[2]

In presence of such general incredulity the preachers turn to moral themes; but, if we believe M. Gerade, "those moral lessons which once a prince would have accepted humbly are now looked upon as impertinent by a cobbler."[3]

And this is how they take it, we are told, by the Pastor Gebhardt and the Superintendent Gallwitz: "In many rural communities where a deplorable moral state reigns, the members of the community notice with satisfaction that on certain days they get it hot. This does not make them desire to better their ways, but they feel a certain satisfaction and somewhat relieved of their responsibilities after such a sermon and they even praise the preacher's warmth."[4]

What now remains of the Lutheran doctrines is on the one hand the consciousness of personal unworthiness, and on the other confidence in the immeasurable greatness of the merits of Jesus Christ. Personal effort is put in the background, and the preacher who alludes to it is not regarded favourably.[5]

The pastor cannot reach the soul beyond the veil because he has not, like the Catholic priest, the

[1] Quoted by Goyau, p. 300.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 303.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] See Goyau, p. 305, note 3.
[5] *Ibid.*

help of the confession which is made at least once a year.

The judgment passed by the Bishop of Osnabrück in his report to the Congregation of the Propaganda in 1888 on the state of Protestantism in the northern districts is that "the non-Catholics who dwell in these districts have for the most part so completely rejected positive faith that they are no longer Christain except in name."

In a word it is the portrait of our most indifferent countries.

Among the factors which are the most sure tests of a nation's morality one must count the birth-rate (and coefficient with birth-rate the number of illegitimate births), divorces, suicides, and crime.

Taken as a whole, in these last years, Germany's birth-rate reaches the figure of 35 to 37·5 in a 1000, and it is in the districts where Catholicism is dominant that the birth-rate is highest. Thus the Rhenish Provinces give 41·5; Westphalia, 43; Polish Prussia, 42·5; Protestant Hesse, 34; Wurtemburg, 35. Of illegitimate births from 1882 to 1894 all Germany counts 9·31 out of every 100 legitimate. Since 1900 the number has constantly dropped: 8·7 in 1900; 8·6 in 1901; 8·5 in 1902; to-day Silesia counts 13·41; Bavaria, 14; Mecklemburg, 13·9; Protestant Prussia, 8·10; Saxony, 12·5; Catholic Westphalia, 3·7; the Catholic Rhenish Provinces, 2·6; Wurtemburg, 10·2; Baden, 8·4; Oldenburg, 5·56, etc.[1]

Divorce, which is a Protestant institution, flourishes among Protestants; the average of divorces in Prussia

[1] These figures are taken from the Annual Statistics of the Empire partly republished in the *Eclair* of 17th September from de Krose in "der *Einfluss der Confession auf die* ach der Ergebnissen der Statishk." Fribourg, 1900.

is 1 out of every 61 marriages, whilst in Bavaria it is only 1 out of every 238.

Suicides are also much less numerous in Catholic countries. Between 1881 and 1890 the statistics are as follows for every 100,000 inhabitants :—Saxony, 35, at present day, 39·2 ; in Prussia, 20, at present day, 16·6 ; in Baden, 19·2 ; in Wurtemburg, 16, at present, 19·8 ; in Bavaria, 13·7.

Then there is crime. Between 1882 and 1891 for every 100,000 persons innocent of crime there were in Prussia, where the Protestants make up nearly 64 per cent. of the population, 0·08 condemned for murder or homicide ; in Saxony, where the percentage of Protestants is nearly 95, there were 0·09 ; in Wurtemburg, 69 per cent., Protestants, 0·13 ; in Bavaria, where Catholics are more than 70 per cent., 0·12 ; in Baden, where there are 60·58 Catholics to 37·69 Protestants, 0·06 ; in Rhenish Prussia, where Catholics amount to as many as 70 per cent., 0·06 ; in Brandenburg, where Protestants reach to 94 per cent., 0·07. For blows and light hurts : in Prussia, 6·8 ; in Saxony, 1·5 ; in Wurtemburg, 2·3 ; in Bavaria, 8·2 ; in Baden, 2·4 ; in Rhenish Prussia, 4·8 ; in Brandenburg, 6·4. For serious hurts : in Prussia, 15·3 ; in Saxony, 7·9 ; in Wurtemburg, 13 ; in Bavaria, 28·7 ; in Baden, 24·1 ; in the Rhenish Provinces, 14·8 ; in Brandenburg, 13. For injuries : in Prussia, 12·9 ; in Saxony, 12·8 ; in Wurtemburg, 15·9 ; in Bavaria, 16·2 ; in Baden, 9 ; in Rhenish Prussia, 8·7 ; in Brandenburg, 15. For theft by force : in Prussia, 0·15 ; in Saxony, 0·07 ; in Wurtemburg, 0·13 ; in Bavaria, 0·13 ; in Baden, 0·06 ; in Rhenish Prussia, 0·10 ; in Brandenburg, 0·12. For simple theft : in Prussia, 29·8 ; in Saxony, 31·6 ; in Wurtemburg, 22·1 ; in Bavari

24·1; in Rhenish Prussia, 15·2; in Brandenburg, 27·2. For false witness: in Prussia, 0·90; in Saxony, 1·33; in Wurtemburg, 1·9; in Bavaria, 1·08; at Baden, 1·14; in Rhenish Prussia, 0·79; in Brandenburg, 0·66. For arson: in Prussia, 0·17; in Saxony, 0·21; in Wurtemburg, 0·25; in Bavaria, 0·14; at Baden, 0·12; in Rhenish Prussia, 0·05; in Brandenburg, 0·18. For seduction and rape: in Prussia, 0·83; in Saxony, 1·19; in Wurtemburg, 1·23; in Bavaria, 1·07; at Baden, 1·45; in Rhenish Prussia, 0·94; in the Brandenburg, 0·95.

One will be struck by the high figure for crime in Bavaria, but Catholicism must not be held responsible, for the duchies of Baden and of Rhenish Prussia, where Catholics form 60·58 and 70 per cent. respectively of the total population, are those where criminality is at its lowest figure.

It must be attributed to the native coarseness of the populations of Upper Bavaria and the Palatinate, where quarrels are very frequent and often end with serious wounds.

The morality of a people is not determined by religion alone; climate, temperament, race, the influence of the government, the mode of education all count for much.

Thus the Emperor William II., in virtue of convictions which are, alas, not shared by our government, has for ten or twelve years made powerful efforts to increase morality and the practice of religion, and he has partially succeeded. Nevertheless this is a matter of government, it is the re-establishment and legitimate usage of the Catholic principle of authority and not due to any Protestant principle. One has no right then to affirm the moral and religious superiority of Protestant populations, at least in Germany. And

consequently, if other Protestant populations are more religious than even the cradle of the Lutheran reformation, this might well be due, whatever M. de Laveleye says, to other causes than the principles of Protestantism.

I do not deny the religious spirit of the English, nor even in a general way of these *superior beings*, the Anglo-Saxons, and I congratulate them for having remained faithful. For they are, to a large extent, much nearer Catholicism than German Protestants. Perhaps I might be permitted to point out to M. Laveleye and others that the very proofs they give us of this religious spirit are drawn precisely from those exterior works, for which Catholics were formerly reproached, not only family prayer, but also going to church, taking part in public services, fasting, and observing Sunday scrupulously. But let us pass on. What they do not show us is the bond between religious practice and morality, which according to them is a much closer one with Protestants than Catholics. We all know what British *cant* is, and the kind of homage, so well defined by La Rochefoucauld, that many English Protestants and even Americans—and perhaps French—pay to virtue. However, we must not deceive ourselves; Puritanism lived sixty years, and then England under Charles II. fell morally lower than France under Louis XIV., and I do not think there is much to choose between England under the three Georges and France under Louis XV. "I much fear," said a Cambridge Professor of Anglican Theology in 1795, "that Protestant countries have more to reproach themselves with than they perhaps think; for all the impiou[illegible] tions, and many of the immoral books whi[illegible] largely contributed in producing the apo[illegible]

days, have been written and printed in Protestant countries."[1]

"The population of London," once wrote M. Leon Faucher, "seems to be both more violent and more depraved than that of Paris. . . . Every excess which presupposes unbridled passions have free play there. Intemperance produces the same results as does a warm climate elsewhere, and at the same time one finds the full development of that corruption which is common to commercial men of unrestrained character."[2] "Who cannot recall to mind the horrible descriptions of certain quarters of the large English towns? What man, well informed on these subjects, does not know that juvenile crime is worse than elsewhere?" Out of respect for my readers I will only make one allusion to those striking articles, which are admitted to be absolutely correct, and which were published after an inquiry organised in 1885, by the director of *The Pall Mall Gazette.*

Is it not a somewhat dangerous assertion when we are told that the United States are the model of virtue, there where the dollar-god reigns side by side with financial speculation, the passion for luxury and every comfort! "The society of the United States," says Claudio Jannet, "always presents a different aspect to ours because public opinion continues to stigmatise adultery and does not allow men to boast of their large fortunes; did they act otherwise, they would lose their commercial and political reputation. Unfortunately under this exterior appearance of decency prostitution is carried on in the large towns to an overwhelming extent;

[1] *...inzaine,* 16th July 1899. Article by M. Pra on ...phlet.

[2] ...rion, p. 56.

domestic dramas, assassinations, abductions, multiply in a frightful manner; for rich people the watering-places are the permanent haunts of the most shameful vices. Finally, and this is a sign of the change taking place in public morals, a scandalous literature is invading America. Soon there will be no practical significance in the ideas of marriage, conjugal fidelity, and adultery, so frequent is divorce. It is a fact worthy of remark that it is in the Puritan states that suddenly in the early years of the nineteenth century there was a kind of epidemic of divorce. The Western states which offer every facility for divorce boast of their morality by saying that in Ohio there is only one divorce out of twenty-four marriages! It is not a rare thing to see men who marry four or five wives one after the other.[1] In 1901, there were 61,160 divorces, and 68,499 in 1903!"

I have said that I could not, in the little time at my disposal, make a comparison between Catholic and Protestant nations. However, I will give some figures which will help to make a very hasty comparison.

Since secret societies and sects have deliberately set themselves to destroy Catholic beliefs in France, demoralisation has been very rapid. From 1816 to 1830 the birth-rate stood at 31·25 on a 1000, which is a higher figure than in Switzerland, England, Sweden, and Norway to-day.

Between	1830	and	1840	it fell to	29
„	1840	„	1850	„	27·4
„	1850	„	1870	„	26·31
„	1870	„	1880	„	25·3
„	1880	„	1900	„	21·15

In the United States for some

[1] Quoted by Flamérie

dency has been noticed as in France, the birth-rate being about 26 or 27 on a 1000; in England too, but in a less degree, the figures in 1875 being 36, and in 1898 29·5.

The birth-rate in Holland figures at 34; in Sweden and Norway, 26·7; in Denmark, 30; Switzerland, 28·5; Belgium rises to 29 in the Flemish Provinces, the most religious, and drop to 23 in the Walloon Provinces. Between 1870 and 1876 Italy stood at 36·6. She has since fallen to 34·9, and even to 33·1 in 1901. Spain and Austria hold the palm, the former with 38, the latter with 39, which has since dropped to 38·5. It is the same with our Catholic provinces as with Catholic countries whether German or Latin. "If the mental and religious state of Brittany were widespread since 1871," writes M. Leroy-Beaulieu in the *Economiste français* of 22nd November 1902, "we should to-day have 53 million inhabitants instead of 38."

The number of illegitimate births has for some years been rising in France. From 1882 to 1894 it was lower than in Germany, 8·4 against 9·31, which has fallen to 8·5, whilst France had risen to 8·76 in 1902. Austria is higher than either with 14·7. Sweden has 12·7; Denmark 10·1; Italy has only 7·3; Ireland with 2·5 presents the lowest figure; while Protestant Scotland rises to 8·4; Switzerland has 4·6; and England 4·5.[1]

Divorce, which has been introduced into several Catholic states by the influence of Jews, Protestants, and freemasons, is but too well acclimatised in our

[1] It is known, however, that the number of illegitimate births is not an absolute test of morality. In very corrupted countries are prevented, and children are suppressed by criminal s.

country. From 1·657 in 1884 we rise to 8·431 in 1902, and now we have fallen lower than Prussia. Italy, on the contrary, holds firm, and has discouraged divorce. There are hardly more than 600 separations annually out of 235,000 marriages.[1]

Suicides have also become more numerous with us. Out of every 100,000 inhabitants:

From	1841	to 1845	there were	9	suicides
„	1846	„ 1850	„	10	„
„	1861	„ 1870	„	13	„
„	1871	„ 1875	„	15	„
in	1892		„	21	„ and
„	1894		„	26	„

But in the countries which have remained really Catholic they are much less frequent than with the Protestants. Switzerland counts 22·3, and the proportion is much less in the Catholic cantons; Austria descends to 16; Belgium to 11; Italy to 4·5; Spain has hardly any. Some Protestant states also have very low figures. Sweden, 11·5; England, 8; the Netherlands, 5·5; but Denmark is our equal with nearly 25·3, while Saxony surpasses us with 39·2.

As to crime, it is very difficult to establish a comparison because legislations and the ways of appreciation differ in various countries. Certain acts are here qualified as misdemeanours and elsewhere as crimes. No country in the world has so many murders as the United States of America, there being 12 for every 100,000 inhabitants, while Italy averages only 8·14, Spain 4·74, France 1·72, Germany 1·06, and England 0·50; but Great Britain makes up for it, if one may use the expression, by attempts on property, there being 2600 convictions out of every

[1] See, especially for France, the ta
grive in *Mariage et union libre.* Pari

1,000,000 inhabitants in England and 4236 for Scotland, while Italy, for example, has only 2444. Already in 1834 it was reckoned that the thieves in London raised a compulsory tax of about thirty-four shillings per head on their co-citizens.

These figures will suffice to show, I hope, that if the kingdom of evil is, alas, far more widespread than it ought to be, at anyrate its power is not less, all other things being equal, in Calvinistic or Lutheran countries, but sometimes rather greater than in Catholic countries. The high morality of Protestant nations is decidedly a fable.

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Shall we rejoice over these facts? No; we shall never rejoice over what is, all said and done, a defeat of the Christian spirit. We will only believe, and let others believe, that Protestantism has not borne and does not bear other fruit than that to which I have had to draw your attention.

It was impossible that the theory of fatalism and of the inutility of good works for salvation should not produce such effects; but it was also impossible that time should not produce a certain reaction, theoretical perhaps to a certain extent, but yet above all practical, which brought about happy contradictions between doctrine and conduct.

And this is what happened. In 1530, Melanchthon himself tried to surreptitiously introduce liberty and good works into the Lutheran theology. Under the double influence of the pietism of Spener and Francke and of the rationalist philosophy they at length effected their return. From the second half of the eighteenth century there was in Germany a Protestant party of elect which was both philanthropic and mystic. This element has persevered throughout

the nineteenth century and has given rise to many admirable works like that of the *Interior Mission*, the *White Cross*, and the *Blue Cross*, works of preservation, associations of young people, of young women in search of situations, nurseries, kindergartens, orphanages, professional schools, reformatories, homes for epileptics, the outcasts, etc.; and all that is true of Germany from this point of view is true also of the other Protestant states, Great Britain, Scandinavia, Switzerland, etc.

Also we do not attempt to deny that many individuals lead a very pure and a very fervent Christian life. In Protestant society, side by side with the vices which I have had to discover, there is, as in Catholic societies, much virtue both public and private. Which of us has not witnessed this fact in Switzerland, Germany, England, and even France and has not sometimes felt humiliated in comparing the paucity of spiritual aids on the one hand and superabundance of graces on the other by which such great things might be done?

To what must be attributed this growth of virtue which we respectfully and joyfully acknowledge in our separated brethren when we come across it? Is it to the Protestant principles of the Reformation? Oh no! For Protestants, as I have already shown, act in contradiction to these principles. The theologian Paul de Lagarde writes somewhat ironically: "The fundamental doctrine of Luther is so forgotten that serious Protestant ecclesiastics allow themselves to be supported in their communities by good works alone." Besides which the Protestant mystic, who, as Harnack says, is a Christian personality, always tends to leave his church.

It must be attributed the[illegible]

left by the Reformation; to what they possess in common with us, to that religious sentiment, deep-rooted and intimate which engenders personal union of the soul with God, a sentiment which is certainly not more Protestant than Catholic but which is absolutely Christian, although too many Catholics think they can do without it; to the reading of the Bible when they have remained faithful to it, for the Bible has placed them in presence of revealed truth—of the Gospel; to those hymns so beautiful and penetrating which have kept up religious emotion and often a real piety in their souls in spite of the natural aridity of the cult.

Good faith is the second motive which explains the virtue to be found in the midst of Protestantism. Most Protestants believe themselves to be in the right; God cannot fail to compassionate men who are blinded by hereditary prejudices and who wish to serve and who think they are serving Him as He should be served.

The third reason is the influence of education. Father Adolphe Perraud, now Cardinal, used to say at the Sorbonne that, by God's grace there is a great principle of conservation in the constitution of family life which is a latent and powerful remedy, prepared by the wisdom and goodness of God to combat, more efficaciously than any refutation, the results of dangerous doctrines.

"Do you believe, for example," he would say, "that among these new evangelicals who are so eager to give their passions the benefit of Luther's principles, there are many fathers of families who would be so imprudent as to make these same principles their rule of guidance in the upbringing of their children; who would say to their children, 'My

children, so long as you have faith in Christ it matters little whether you obey or do not obey, do not trouble to correct your faults or overcome your passions for faith alone suffices.'"

Do you not think that the straightforward and sacred instincts of paternity have prevailed against such deplorable principles and have contributed in a large measure to correct and lessen the consequences?

This is not the only point where the essential laws of family life have obliged and do oblige Protestants to be happily inconsistent. It is very easy to say that the Christian has no other master than the Bible and the Holy Ghost and that there is not and ought not to be any intermediary between God and the soul. And yet the religious education of Protestant children is conducted on exactly the same lines as that of Catholic children—that is, by authority. It is always a pastor, or a father, or a mother who teaches. The child does not make its own religion any more with Protestants than with us, it receives it. And this religion is received through a tradition which is respected, from an authority which is revered, and from a power which is acknowledged.

It is a contradiction with the principle of private judgment and free examination in the same way that it is a contradiction to follow after moral good when believing that man is not a free agent and that good works are ineffectual. Contradictions doubtless but happy contradictions! For they condemn errors, honour individuals, and often save souls.

IX

What have been the intellectual and doctrinal consequences of Protestantism?—Has Protestantism been more favourable than Catholicism to the intellectual progress of Christian nations?[1]

We are told that Luther was the deliverer of reason; by proclaiming for free inquiry he gave the world the principle of intellectual liberty; by making the Bible the foundation of religious instruction he has made elementary education indispensable; thus, in every direction, he has furthered the progress of knowledge; from this point of view Protestant countries are still vastly superior to Catholic.

But this is not so clear after all! If we cast a glance on the whole of the general history of the progress of minds in Christendom for the last four centuries we are not at all struck by the intellectual superiority of Protestant nations. Certainly England and Germany have played a fine rôle in the progress of science, no doubt both have produced excellent literary works and have given birth to thinkers who for centuries have left their stamp on the intelligence

[1] The principal works to be consulted on this chapter are: Doellinger, *La Réforme, son developpement intérieur et les résultats qu'elle a produits.* Paris, 1848-1849. 3 vols. 8vo. Abbé Martin, *De l'avenir du Protestantisme et du Catholicisme.* Paris, 1869. Lichtenberger, *Histoire des idées religieuses en Allemagne depuis le XVIII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours.* Paris, 1888. 3 vols. in 12. Goyan, *l'Allemagne religieuse, le Protestantisme.* Paris, 1901. 4th edition.

of mankind. Can one say as much of other Protestant nations, of Scandinavia for example or North America? And has the part played at certain epochs by Catholic nations been less grand? Take Spain, Italy, and especially France, for instance. How often France has taken the initiative and that at times when she was profoundly Catholic! Whence then arose the regenerator of modern thought—Descartes—if not from the very heart of our own country? It little matters here what opinion one has of his work. And if we compare Catholics and Protestants in each branch of intellectual activity we do not find that the balance leans always in favour of the latter. In theology I think that Bellarmin, Suarez, Petau, or Thomassin can very easily pair with the most celebrated Lutheran or Calvinistic teachers. In Christian spirit I cannot find the equal to Francis of Sales or Fénélon. When it is a question of sacred eloquence the parallel made some few years back between A. Monod and Bossuet had the effect of a paradox. Shall we take profane art? I imagine that both the French and Spanish theatre since the times of Corneille and Racine, Lope de Vega and Calderon until our contemporary authors can well bear comparison with the German and English stage if I except the greatest dramatic genius, Shakespeare, who as far as we can know was himself a Catholic.

I might continue, but it is useless. The real question is to find what intellectual influence Protestant principles have had; I might be told that it had reached as far as Catholic countries. To some extent this would be true in certain branches of study either by means of direct action or by reaction; but it would not be true in a general way, always [illegible] for every form of intellectual stud

tute an inquiry analogous to what we have carried through on the religious and moral consequences of Luther's revolution.

I shall confine myself to Germany because it is impossible to touch upon every point, and because it is in Germany that the Protestant system has developed its final results. I know that in this as in many other respects English Protestantism differs from German and keeps much closer to truth. On this point I refer you to the excellent studies by M. Thureau-Daugin and the Abbé Brémond, who will give you, much better than I should, some idea of the English Protestant spirit, of their inevitable contradictions, but also of their intellectual activity and their undeniable sincerity.[1]

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Luther was the deliverer of reason. Oh! well if he was it was quite unintentionally; for he does not show himself at all kindly disposed to this poor reason. In his *Commentary on the Epistle of the Galatians* the principal quality that he ascribes to faith is to trample reason under foot, or as he expresses it *to gag and suffocate the beast.* "True believers stifle reason," he tells us after having made the following exhortation to it:—"Listen, my dear reason, you are but blind and mad and understand naught of heavenly things. Do not make such a fuss, stop this noise, and do not set yourself to judge the divine word. The best thing you can do is to keep quiet, to yield, and to believe. This is how believers gag the monster, otherwise the whole world would not succeed in imposing silence, and this execution is the most praise-

[1] Thureau-Daugin, *La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre au XIX^e siècle.* Paris, 2 vols. in 8vo, 1899 and 1903. H. Brémond, *Ames religieuses* and *L'inquiétude religieuse.* Paris, 1901 and 1902.

worthy work, the most agreeable sacrifice that one can offer to the Lord."[1]

"If we wish to enter the Kingdom of God, said Jesus Christ, we must become like little children: or in other words, we must subdue our intelligence and our reason to the condition they were in in infancy, the condition of a dead and latent faculty. Only thus shall we obtain faith, that faith to which nothing is more contrary or more hostile than reason."[2] "Anabaptists say that reason is a torch. . . . Reason shed light? Yes, as dung would if put into a lantern."[3]

This realistic metaphor is not enough for Luther. Towards the end of his life, in a sermon preached at Wittenberg, he gives us his final word: "Reason is the affianced one of the devil; she is a prostitute, the chief prostitute of the devil, a lousy, filthy, and disgusting prostitute that ought to be trampled on and destroyed, both she and her companion wisdom. It would be a good thing to make her detestable by throwing filth in her face, for, abominable wretch that she is, she only deserves to be placed in the dirtiest place in the house, in the privy."[4] Behold how the real, primitive, and authentic doctrine of Luther has contributed to the emancipation of reason!

As to freedom of thought, practically Luther only admitted it for his own purposes. The office of censor, for which Protestantism has so often reproached Catholics, was exercised in Protestant Germany and also by princes and magistrates at

[1] Ed. Walch, vol. viii. 2043.

[2] *Luther's ungedr. Predigten*, Brun's ed. p. 106, quoted by Doellinger, vol. i. p. 454.

[3] Quoted by Doellinger, p. 453, in note.

[4] Leipzig ed. vol. xii. p. 373.

the request of doctors whose opinions prevailed. Luther himself had recourse to it, for in 1529 he asked the Duke of Mecklemburg to forbid the impression of the New Testament translated by Emser.[1] As for Melanchthon, he wrote: "Magistrates must everywhere establish inspectors and censors, who are charged to watch libraries and printing houses, and it must be forbidden to publish any book without first obtaining the censor's permission.[2] And indeed quantities of works were prohibited. In the seventeenth century the theological faculties and the consistories were all-powerful. The young man who wished to write and teach was bound by oaths and anathemas, and that by an authority which had no pretensions to infallibility!" "These subtle theologians," writes the Protestant Hase in his *History of the Church*, "would like to represent the good God as a powerful Lutheran pastor who upholds his honour with his fists."[3]

Will Protestants maintain that this censorship they exercised and the oaths they exacted helped scientific progress and freedom of thought?

In this case, facts are against them.

If humanism was the first ally of the Reformation it was a quickly disabused one. Erasmus very soon turned his batteries against Luther. Mutian, who had showed himself to be the most enthusiastic and the most advanced of the *poets* of Erfurt, could not sufficiently deplore the unhappy results of Lutheran teaching. Crotus Rubeanus went so far as to reproach the reformers for attacking the Catholic Church, the

[1] *Cf.* Doellinger, vol. i. p. 314.

[2] *Corpus reform*, vol. iv. p. 549, and *Epist. Melanchthonis*, Peucer ed. p. 535.

[3] *Kirchengeschichte*, 10th ed. p. 505.

"mother of the best institutions." Karl de Bodmann frankly admitted that it was a mistake to wish to follow Luther. Ulrich Zasius was equally disillusioned, and tried to bring back others. One and all deplored the failure of schools and studies. "Everywhere Lutheranism is paramount," Erasmus wrote to Pirkheimer in 1538, "literature is dead." And Melanchthon echoed these sentiments: "In Germany all the schools are disappearing. Woe to the world!"

In certain Universities the number of students fell from 300 to 30. The decadence of the schools after the change of religion is evidenced by a hundred facts; Doellinger has brought forward a great number of them in the first volume of his work on the *Reformation*. Luther recognises the state of affairs and dwells on it: we find him writing everywhere, even to Livonia, to arrange for the foundation of schools, but he is obliged to admit the fact that there are none as in the old papacy days, that no one is willing to undertake the expenses of a foundation, and that, moreover, that where there are schools, scholars are wanting. Doubtless Luther had converted the Germans more than enough by his invectives against the Universities.

Besides what kind of studies would Lutheranism, as it was first conceived, patronise?

Biblical studies? Certainly, in the beginning, and we do not deny that Germany made great advances in these studies later. But we must remember, and we have already pointed out this fact, these studies were very previous to Luther in Germany and in all Europe. The Gospels had been translated into popular German since 147[illegible] and [illegible] tions of the Bible had rapi[illegible]

at the end of the thirteenth century Jacques de Voragine translated the Bible into Italian.

The spirit of Rome, as we have also shown, was not in the least hostile to the study of the original languages of the Bible. In the thirteenth century Barcelona had been endowed by Saint Raymond de Pennafort with a chair of Oriental languages. They were taught at Rome and in Germany. One must remember the quarrel of Reuchlin.

One of the results of Luther's translation of the Bible was the decrease of such studies, because preachers felt obliged to use his version. During the whole of the Reformation not a single complete edition of the original text of the Bible appeared in any part of Germany. The first Hebrew Bible was published in Protestant Germany in 1586 by the efforts of the Elector Augustus of Saxony.

As to the Greek New Testament, not counting the Bâle editions (the first of these was by Erasmus in 1516), there was not a single edition in Protestant Germany until that of Leipzig in 1542, and this was twenty-eight years later than the Catholic edition of the New Testament published at Alcala in 1514. After which nothing more appeared until 1563.[1]

Even the study of Latin was seriously hindered by the Lutheran Reformation. One can, however, hardly be surprised at this, for Latin was no longer necessary for the pastor's ministry, besides which in the early days of pastors a tacitly understood fiat went forth to bring classical studies into contempt as much as possible.

"We are sorry to learn," wrote the Margrave of Brandenburg in 1528, "that there is no longer the same desire to follow the schools, and we fear that the

[1] On this subject, see Doellinger, vol. i. p. 461 *sqq.*

cause of this is largely due to the preachers who have thought to act well by decrying knowledge and by leading the young to take up manual professions under the pretext that there was no longer need of Latin in the Church. In consequence of this we order pastors to use henceforth all their influence to gradually bring back a greater love of study." [1]

Nothing is more true than the reproach made to the pastors. At Wittenberg two zealous pastors, Georges Mohr and Gabriel Didymus, declared in the pulpit "that the study of sciences was not only useless but even pernicious, and that one could not do better than destroy colleges and schools." [2]

After all this was but the echo of Luther's invectives when he compared "the four Faculties to the four soldiers who, so tradition says, crucified our Lord." [3]

And elsewhere he wrote: "The god Moloch, to which the Jews used to sacrifice their children, is represented nowadays by the Universities. . . . Here famous people, doctors, and masters are manufactured in such a way that one cannot direct souls or preach without having either taken a degree or at least passed through the schools; the jackass first adorns himself with a doctor's hood and then only does he harness himself to the shafts of business. . . . The least evil that could happen to these unfortunate youths is to be led to commit every excess against nature, the most shameful debauchery. But what is most to be deplored is that they are versed in that impious and pagan knowledge which tends to miserably corrupt the purest souls and the widest intelligences." [4]

[1] *Religiousakta*, vol. xi. n. 64-66, quoted by Doellinger, vol. i. p. 401.

[2] Doellinger, p. 400.

[3] Doelli

[4] *Contre l'abus des messes*, ed. Wal

And again: "The High Schools deserve to be utterly destroyed, never since the world has been created have there existed more diabolical institutions."[1]

We have already said what Luther thought of the Fathers; one can easily conclude therefrom what became of patristic study and positive theology both during his time and afterwards. The study of the Fathers was excluded from the programmes followed by candidates for the ministry. But this was not to the advantage of independent research. The truth is that Luther's writings took the place of everything else.

In 1564 the Palatine councillor, Wolfgang Haller, wrote to Illyricus: "It is very rarely that our preachers use the Sacred Book as evidence for their statements. Luther's is the only authority they invoke; it is in his writings that they place their confidence and find their defence. It may be easily conceived how this stupid submission to the judgment of an individual is a cause of ridicule to their enemies and gives them ample reason for jeering at the followers of the true doctrine; for things have reached such a pass that while Luther tells us that he has no esteem for the Fathers and that he cares not a jot for them, his own disciples raise him above the Fathers, and not only above the Fathers but also above the Sacred Word, depending entirely on him for their belief, their opinions, and their very personality."[2]

Jerome Weller looked upon the thought of returning to the study of the Fathers as a temptation of the Evil One, for they are, said he, "vastly inferior to Luther."

[1] *Sermons*, Walch ed. vol. xii. 45, quoted by Doellinger, vol. i. p. 449.

[2] Quoted by Doellinger, vol. i. p. 460.

In 1569 the Pastor Melchior Petri asserted that the pastors "forbid any writings to be read save those by Luther or his friends." [1]

"This ignorance," says Doellinger, who thought to have found in Luther's writings all that is necessary for the modern theologian, "was one of the causes of the gross and passionate element which reigned in the numberless discussions of Lutherans among themselves. . . . Religious strife is so much the more bitter, prejudiced, and violent as the range of intelligence of the combatants is narrower and lower." [2]

Neither did historical study gain anything from the Lutheran movement. We all know what a large post the devil held in Luther's theology. He does not hold a less important one in his philosophy of history. Every difficulty is explained away by the intervention of the devil, and thus all necessity for a search for causes is dispensed with and a philosophy strange, narrow, and monotonous is developed.

According to the author of the memoir from which we have quoted, namely Villers, the Lutheran Reformation rendered a great service to the human intelligence by taking ecclesiastical history and partly civil history out of the hands of the monks: "These hermits," he said, "intermingled a great number of fables, superstitions, and curses against heretics into their annals. Where was the Muse of history with such ministers?" [3]

Doubtless many monastic chronicles are wanting in judgment, yet they contain much valuable information. At anyrate their authors do not explain all the revolutions in the world and all the designs of man by the influence of Sata constantly

[1] Doellinger, vol. i. p. 46 inge [3] P. 258.

done by Luther, Melanchthon, and their immediate followers.

Here, for example, is the way in which the vicissitudes of Germany between 1520 and 1555 are explained by one of the most fervent disciples of Luther, namely Alber, superintendent of Mecklemburg.

"As the resistance of Catholics had not profited Satan and as the Gospel continued to prosper and spread he resolved to try a cunning trick by giving us an enemy in our own brother, Andrew Carlstadt, so that it could be said of us that the heretics themselves are disunited and that their doctrine has neither foundation, nor consistency. Later on, the devil employed Sebastian Frank, who cast doubt over all religion. There have been many, too, in whom Satan inspired the idea of upholding by writing the theory that a Christian may have as many wives at the same time as he pleases, and who have thus brought our Gospel into bad odour and have made people say that they favoured debauchery. The Evil One led others (the sabbatists) to re-establish circumcision and other Jewish practices. All this was planned with the intention of ruining the Gospel, but it has not yet succeeded. Finally, Satan employed Nicholas Storch, Münzer, and others whose incendiary teachings were the cause of the dreadful revolt in which a hundred thousand peasants perished. However when the devil saw that the Gospel stood firm in the midst of the storm he made new enemies of it in the sect of the Anabaptists. . . . But the one who showed the most zeal in serving the devil's cause was Erasmus of Rotterdam. After which the old Serpent profited by the hatred against us of one of our false brothers—George Wizel. He also took into his service the

Spaniard Servet. All these ruses of the devil remaining ineffective he thought of sending a band of incendiaries against us whom the Pope had employed."

Alber also places in the categories of diabolical deeds the different discussions which the Lutherans had consented to have with the Catholics, the tax against the Turks, the Council of Trent, the Interim, etc. etc.

Thus was history taught in the churches and schools. Such a method does not require much effort or much judgment. But this is not all. To combat the Church more effectively Lutheran historians, for example the famous *Centuriators of Magdeburg*, deliberately spread abroad falsehoods and put a number of false documents into circulation.

At least Lutheranism must have helped philosophical and theological studies? "A revolution," says Villers, "begun by a reformation in religious opinion could not fail to awake the spirit of philosophy. . . . In Protestant universities there is no oracle save reason. It was true at the end of the seventeenth century, but what about the beginning and for more than a century before?"

Listen to Erasmus: "Does not Luther call the philosophy of Aristotle diabolical? Has he not written that knowledge either practical or theoretical is damned? That all knowledge is but sin and error? . . . How could such principles produce anything else but contempt for study?"[1]

We know what Luther thought of reason, that is to say, his opinion of philosophy and of the intervention of reason in theological studies. And he does not hide his opinions. He says: "As faith

[1] Erasmus, *Epist. ad fratres Germania inferioris.* Colc
Quoted by Doellinger, p. 444.

might teach us absurdities, as, for example, that 2 and 5 make 8, it is evident that at any price reason must be prevented from entering into things of faith. . . . Only the devil," he adds, "could have inspired Romish priests with the idea of constituting reason judge of the will and of divine works."[1]

Born in opposition to scholasticism Lutheranism soon fell into a more chilling, a narrower, and more formal scholasticism than the old one. Hear what a Protestant historian has to say on the subject: "Scripture was only known by a certain number of isolated passages which had been especially selected for controversial purposes and of which the explanation was definitely settled for each portion. . . . Learned men wrote in a forced, unnatural Latin . . . orthodox zealots were always ready to quarrel about subtle distinctions of incomprehensible matters. The teaching of Saint Augustine on unity in necessary things, liberty in those doubtful, and charity everywhere, was as effectual in this case as a sermon in the desert."[2]

It is a remarkable fact and one that Janssen had well brought forward in the last translated volume of his great work on Germany and the Reformation, the one entitled: *Civilisation in Germany from the end of the Middle Ages to the beginning of the Thirty Years' War*—it is not only those branches of knowledge which are more or less directly related to the sacred sciences which have been affected by the deterioration brought about by the action of the religious revolution, but all manifestations whether artistic or literary of the intellectual activity of the German people.

The satirical pamphlet which was much in vogue

[1] Ed. Walch, vol. xi. 2308, quoted by Doellinger, vol. i. p. 454. *Kirchengeschichte*, 10th ed. p. 505.

in these days of controversy descended to the most extraordinary obscenities.

In this Luther had some good disciples—Johan Fischart, for example.[1] Of course the Catholic Church is the object of his sarcasm. Here are a few specimens:

In the new islands the head of the Gorgon Medusa, a Roman sea-wonder, had been discovered:

> "In the sea they've chanced to find
> Sea-wonders of a Roman kind:
> Sea-bishops, sea-monks, and sea-priests,
> Mass grottoes, pilgrim apes, all which
> Bear a strong resemblance to
> The Romish ecclesiastical crew.
> For Scripture calls the sea a world
> From which huge monsters are up-hurled,
> But no greater ones are bred
> Than the so-called Church's heads,
> Who in the sea of the world do roar,
> And bring forth sea-devils galore. . . ."

But the present find is a veritable arch sea-wonder: such a sea-lamb, an animal on a stool, a Babylonish whore, is the hellish monster at Rome, with its scales and its grovelling company:

> "This is the Medusa, the famed sea-whore
> Whom the sea-god Phoreys bore,
> From Ceto of the whale-fish race. . . .
> This is Circe, the sea-queen,
> The venomous spider and enchantress,
> Who by a magic drink, the guests
> Who visit her can change to beasts."

This "hussy" plagues with ban, burning, poison, and murder, but knows how to parade before the world in all sorts of dazzling church pageantry, mummy shows, ornaments, fasts, confessions, masses:

[1] Janssen, vol. xii. of the Er

"All these outward functions were
The Babylonish whore's attire,
Which her lovers did ensnare,
And half the world around her gather.
But as to-day the varnishing
Grows shabby and the colours fade,
We see that all this garnishing
Was finery the sorry jade
Had borrowed from the Jew and pagan,
And from the storehouse of the dragon."[1]

The religious drama which in the fifteenth century had been one of the glories of German literature descends to buffoonery and coarseness. The pieces borrowed from the history of Joseph give some idea of this fact; the author of one of these is a pastor who wishes it to be played in the schools. Some of its dialogue is so licentious that I could not reproduce it here. In the one by Schlays, Joseph in the presence of his father hurls a volley of abuse on the heads of his brothers, and Jacob goes one better; for example, he calls Reuben a jackass, etc.; in the one by Gasman Joseph is flogged by his brethren, and the chief villain, Levi, eggs them on with the words: "Now quickly strike his throat in two!" Potiphar is rated by his wife as a "lazy fool," who swills himself full. Levi complains of a stomach ache because he has drunk too much beer and wine; and Simeon is so dead drunk that he can scarcely get to the door; and so on in the same style.[2]

Baumgart, another pastor, wrote a popular story for children, entitled: *How our Lord Himself taught the Catechism to Eve's Children.* Cain behaves very stupidly in words and gestures, whereupon God the Lord says to him: "You stupid ass, you clown,

[1] English trans. of Janssen, vol. xi. pp. 373-374.
[2] Janssen, vol. xii. p. 28. English trans.

the progress of free thought it is undeniable that Protestantism has helped it. And this is what I have to prove to you.

The task before me is an arduous one. Nevertheless I believe it to be necessary and one of a nature to interest you for you will recognise therein many ideas to which constant allusion is being made in the religious controversies of the present day. It goes without saying that I shall be obliged to sketch in bold lines and to leave the shading. Philosophers and professional students will know how to forgive me.

One reads on the walls of the Wartbourg at Wittenberg these lines: "God's word and Luther's doctrine will stand for ever." What an irony is contained in these words when one casts a glance at the rationalism of Germany and of a great part of Protestantism!

"There is no more sure historical law," writes M. Auguste Sabatier, "than that of the mutual dependence and stability that exists between philosophy and religion."[1]

The great thinker and genius of Germany in the seventeenth century was Leibnitz. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the system of Leibnitz was adapted by Wolf to meet the wants of mediocre minds as it has been aptly expressed. It was Wolf too who introduced into Protestant theology the germ of Cartesian philosophy and the first growth of a narrow and superficial rationalism. According to him clearness was the one test of truth and in his *Natural Theology* published in 1719 he tried to simplify religion, to make it clear and acceptable by stripping it of all that was supernatural. Nicolaï argues from the same point of view in his philosophical

[1] A. Sabatier, *Lettre* in Aguilèra. *La Théologie de l'avenir*, p. 7.

romance *Life and Opinions of Sebald Nathanker*, as well as in the "Universal German Library," a huge encyclopædia, the organ of the "partisans of knowledge," which exercised a tremendous influence on the movement of thought in Germany from 1765 to 1792.[1]

Still more energetic was to be Lessing's action, for he took the principle of an independent and purely rational criticism from the domain of philosophy and carried it into that of Biblical exegesis. In 1774 he began to publish the famous *Fragments of an Unknown*, by Reimar, philologist, naturalist, and philosopher, who had been dead some years. There were seven of these "Fragments," and their titles were full of significance: 1. On the toleration of deists; 2. On the custom of decrying reason from the pulpit; 3. The impossibility of admitting a unique revelation for all men; 4. The impossibility of admitting the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea; 5. The impossibility of finding a religion in the Old Testament; 6. The Gospel accounts of the resurrection of Christ; 7. The aim of Jesus and His disciples.

Reimar accounted Moses as a mere trickster. He pretended to find ten contradictions in the accounts of the Resurrection, which he declared to be an invention of the Apostles; Christ by proclaiming Himself to be the Messiah only desired to restore the Jewish theocracy, and John the Baptist would have been His accomplice in this policy.

Lessing added hypocritical notes to the fragments: Our "Unknown," he said, "has shown up all the contradictions which are to be found in the accounts we have of Christ's resurrection." Supposing that he

[1] Lichtenberger, *Histoire des idées religieuses en Allemagne*, Paris, 1888, vol. i. chap. i.

is right, it ought not to prevent our believing that Christ really rose from the dead. The same is the case with all the objections which may be raised against the Bible. The letter is not the spirit, and the Bible is not religion. Christianity existed before the Evangelists and Apostles wrote. . . . "And," he adds, "are books the only means of enlightening men and making them better? Suppose all the books of the New Testament had been lost, would it follow that there would exist no further trace nowadays of Christ's acts and teachings?" And again: "Even if one were not able to refute all the objections against the Bible, religion would always remain intact in the heart of those Christians who had acquired a deep sentiment of these truths."[1]

Harnack, quoting this sentence in his lecture: *Le christianisme et l'histoire*, calls it "the phrase of deliverance."[2] And for the same reason the French minister Fontanés in his book: *Le christianisme moderne, Etude sur Lessing*, honours Lessing as the father of liberal Protestantism.[3]

It is from these premises that have resulted first Christianity without dogma and then the Christian subjectivism of our days.

About the same time, Semler, in his *Introduction to a theological exegesis* in his *Apparatus* written in favour of the free interpretation of the Old and New Testaments reached an interpretation so free that he himself was afraid of it, especially in presence of the impious audacities of Bahrdt, who sought to reach the body of the faithful by his popular letters on the Bible. "One has only," said Bahrdt, "to use the

[1] Lichtenberger, vol. i. chap. iii.
[2] Leipzig, 1896, p. 18.
[3] Vol. i. Paris, 1867.

name of Jesus pretty frequently to persuade people that true Christianity is being taught." Semler was less cynical, his mother's piety had deeply impressed him; but at the bottom he expressed the same idea as Bahrdt—an idea destined to work wonders among German pastors—when he wrote that there were two religions, one public, the other private; that cult constitutes the first which may not be changed, that the second depends on the individual who may add or retrench all that his conscience or reason demands, that, moreover, one may continue to use traditional and conventional forms if one explains them as one may find convenient.[1]

We might be listening to our contemporaries, to those *modern-style* theologians who tell us that words have two meanings and that by a good use of equivocal terms faithful and learned may be contented together?

Under the double influence of Lessing and of Herder, who, from the cloudy summits of his mysticism coloured by pantheism, only sees in Christianity a magnificent poem, and in Jesus the sublime model for humanity, Eichorn, a vast and vigorous mind, undertakes to reduce the whole Bible to a purely natural sense and proportion. According to him the Jews, like all ancient peoples, attributed to the Divinity all which struck them by its greatness, all which surpassed their intelligence; they expressed themselves by images and hyperbole, and in the narrative of facts they omitted essential details to which they attached no importance.

Whatever is marvellous in the Sacred Text may be explained naturally. For instance, the vocation of Moses was nothing else but the outcome of a long

[1] Lichtenberger, vol. i. ch. iv.

indulged thought to deliver Israel, which, added to a dream, was mistaken by Moses for a Divine inspiration.

This system still supposed the authenticity of the Scriptures. The successors of Eichorn were to completely demolish this last remnant. Eichorn had, at the close of his life, himself denied the authenticity of a part of the Pentateuch.

Thus, towards the end of the eighteenth century, in spite of the praiseworthy efforts of a little group of apologists, on the grounds of philosophy and of exegesis, the old Lutheran system was completely battered down; nothing had been able to arrest its fall; rationalism was the master and pervaded the whole Protestant dogma. Educated in the universities the pastors were imbued with it, whilst in France, at the same time, if rationalism did gain great victories at anyrate it did not reach the mass of the clergy or in any way affect the doctrine of the Catholic Church. But the ideas of one who belongs to the eighteenth century by his life, and to the nineteenth by his action which began with the Revolution had already began to spread abroad—Emmanuel Kant.

It would be impossible for me to tell in a few words what was the influence on the religious development of Germany of the man whose name is the initial of every philosophical movement of modern times. The forms of our intelligence, as well as the knowledge resulting therefrom, are purely subjective; for by pure reason we cannot know anything about the great objects of human knowledge, self, world, and God. Moral conscience is autonomous and absolute; the certainty of goodness is quite independent of all theory on goo

anterior and superior. It has all the force of a "categorical necessity." Religion is neither the source nor the support of morality; it is merely a sort of appendage, a simple postulate of practical reason. Moral conscience is the sovereign judge in matters of faith. Religious truths cannot be proved. Reason has no decisive argument either for or against supernatural revelation. Besides, where is the line between natural and supernatural? Where does the miraculous begin? No one can say. The true nucleus and essence of revealed faith, stripped of all exterior dogma, is purely moral belief. Dogma is the symbol of a moral idea and this moral idea is its essential element.[1]

These three ideas on truth, morality, and religion are henceforth to exercise their rule over Protestant theology in Germany. Add thereto the influence of Hegel, which strengthened more than ever the opinion that religious dogma is but an image, a representation, a symbol, that religion itself is but the consciousness of Divinity in the finite being.

The two men who did the most to develop German Protestantism towards the rationalism in which it is now enveloped were Schleiermacher and Ritschl, who had the same master—Kant.

A few months after the birth of the nineteenth century a short book appeared in Berlin by Schleiermacher called *Religion: Talks to cultivated minds among its slanderers* (*Reden über Religion*).

"He has reigned for nearly a hundred years," says M. Georges Goyau, "over German Protestantism. His speculative theories have formed many minds,

[1] See Lichtenberger, *Histoire des idées religieuses en Allemagne*, vol. ii. pp. 20-25.

and his meditation yet more consciences. Those who are frightened by his pantheism are allured by his religious feeling; if one cannot follow his deductions one bows before his intuitions."[1]

Schleiermacher made pantheism his starting-point; but after a few preambles drawn from this doctrine he came back to Luther's idea of placing man in direct contact with the Divinity by the sentiment man possesses of his absolute dependence on God: "Religion," he said, "is the intimate sense of contact with God. It is not in books, nor in tradition, that it has its origin, but in our heart. . . . Faith in Christ is independent of miracles, prophecies, inspirations, or any secondary details on which the old schools lay so much stress. It is a matter of experience. It is a Christian community, formed, cemented, upheld by a long universal experience which reveals the moral and religious greatness of Christ, and this experience is faith."

"Theology only serves to note the empirical gifts of faith. The perfect Christian who knows himself best is the most perfect theologian."

M. Goyau, from whom I have borrowed this doctrinal exposition, says: "Until our own days the various currents of thought, whether theological or liberal, of a new orthodoxy or the so-called happy medium, have been formed and nourished at the source of religiosity of which Schleiermacher opened the flood-gates." And he adds:

"From Luther to Schleiermacher the road followed by the Reformation had not wandered or even divided; logic had been its propensity. Between the soul of the faithful and God Luther had evicted all authority, all human institutions. In his turn,

[1] Goyau, *l'Allemagne religieuse, le Pr*

Schleiermacher evicts these other obstacles, revealed law, and exterior dogma. He derives dogma from the very phenomenon of Christian piety, and sows in all the schools the idea—which contains the germ of death for some and of expansion for others—that without religious men religion would not exist."[1]

Schleiermacher has accustomed various schools of thought to recognise the independence and the autonomy of religion in the soul of every believer. Ritschl, in the years which followed, was to go one step further. Hear what Heinrich Schœn, the historian of his theology, has to say:[2]

"To those who were discouraged by the attacks of criticism, he gave the assurance that faith and salvation are independent of the results of historical research. To theologians weary of dogmatic quarrellings he presents a Christianity free from any far-fetched metaphysics. To the erudite, who fear to see theology succumb to the attacks of positive science, he shows a way where all collision with natural science becomes impossible. To eager students of history he unfolds the development of the primitive Church. To timid Christians he says: God has never been angry with you, He tells you to return to Him. To hardened pessimists he cries: Labour for the advancement of God's kingdom, band together for the common work; doctrine without Christian practice is nothing. To enthusiastic youth he shows the means whereby they may influence the men of our time. In a century eager for freedom and equality he founds a social theology, which makes the individual disappear in the multitude."[3]

[1] Goyau, *op. cit.* pp. 84-85.
[2] *Les origines historiques de la théologie de Ritschl*, Paris, 1893, in 8vo.
[3] Schœn, pp. 8-9.

Philosophical subjectivism weakened the claims of the idea of the absolute; the subjectivism of historical criticism struck at the authority of the Holy Scriptures; Ritschl "dressed up" Protestant theology in a way that made it compatible with these two phases of subjectivism. Thanks to him the most incredulous minds could delude themselves with the idea that they were religious.

According to Harnack this system is the outcome of the workings of evangelical theology for two hundred years; it is the legitimate ending to the long task begun by Wolf in 1719.[1]

"God's word and Luther's doctrine will stand for ever."

What remains to-day; what is the result of this lengthy evolution which has led us from the excessive and radical denial of the rights of reason to the exclusive use of reason alone?

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First the denial of all definite dogma and even of the idea of religious truths, such as had hitherto been accepted by all the faithful. "Faith," said Bossuet to Protestants, as did Saint Vincent de Lérins, "is a thing which does not depend on the mind but which we learn from those who have preceded us." Jurieu thought likewise. Two centuries have passed and contemporary German theology professes the contrary, that religion has no foothold in a soul except by individual opinion, personal emotion, self-intuition. Dogma is regarded as the product of a religious mind, the spontaneous growth of personal religion.

"In fact," wrote M. Guyau in his famous book *The Irreligion of the Future*, when expressing the

[1] *Dogmengeschichte*, 2nd ed. 1890, vol. iii. p. 762.

conclusions reached by the later theologians of Protestant Germany, "the true *Word*, the sacred utterance, it is no longer God who makes it echo through the succeeding centuries—the same eternally; but it is we who pronounce it, we suggest it to Him at least, for what makes the value of words if not the significance attached to it."[1]

In other words, religious truth is purely subjective, and there is nothing to prove that it corresponds to a reality outside the mind of the believer; it does not exist; it is made; and each one makes it.

But mark the consequences. Carry this idea, that it is religious people who make religion, into the study of exegesis and religious history: "Immediately," as M. Georges Goyau very justly remarks, "the line of battle drawn up by the old schools (whether supernatural or rationalist) falls into disorder, and the whole complexion of affairs is changed from what it was in the past centuries."[2]

Between Schleiermacher on the one hand, Strauss, the chief of the so-called mythical school, and Baur, the chief of the historical school of Tübingen, on the other, one sees the parallel. *Religion is religious feeling*, says the philosopher, and very soon arise historians who declare that religious documents, the reputed depositories of a revelation from above, are nothing but the sentiments of religious men of olden days and that dogmas are the products of different ages, a necessary translation of the Christian conscience. And in the same way that your own religion—Protestants of the nineteenth century—is nothing but subjectivism operating on Christianity,

[1] Guyau, *L'irréligion de l'avenir*, p. 133, quoted by Goyau, p. xix. Introduction.

[2] Goyau, *L'Allemagne religieuse*, p. 85.

so this Christianity itself is in its turn nothing b
the subjectivism of your far-off ancestors. If religi
is nothing more than an affair of conscience, individu
or collective, the history of a religion will simply
the history of the developments of religious co
science.[1]

Under such a system, the Holy Scripture, t
unique rule of faith of primitive Protestantism, los
all doctrinal authority. If one asks the mode
theologian: "Do you believe that the Bible is
inspired book?" he replies: "For me the Bible
the word of God because *It* speaks to me mo
clearly than anything else." Ritschl takes the Bib
as his foundation but he adapts it to his doctrin
The Scriptures which he recognises as the source
religion are the Scriptures as read and explained
Ritschl.

This is not all. The critical and scientific study
the Sacred Books is strongly influenced and falsifi
by this system. Catholics are reproached with n
being independent in these matters and with judgi
from the standpoint of the Church's dogmas a
definitions; but the Protestant critical followers
Schleiermacher or of Ritschl do not study in
objective manner the questions of exegesis and
religious history; they treat them as preconceiv
philosophical ideas; which, we may as well remar
does not constitute scientific progress.

See how Reuss, Wellhausen, Stade, their followe
and their imitators, reason with regard to Biblic
exegesis. The Jewish religion is an outcome of t
Jewish people, a result of Jewish history; Israel ca
not have made its religion in the way narrated in t
Old Testament; the sudden apparition of a law-giv

[1] Goyau, *op. cit.* p. 89.

like Moses is unlikely. Whence the theories on the writings of the Bible, their date, their succession, the stratagems of their compilers, etc. But historical improbability is merely what seems improbable to such or such a historian. Each one, according to his own idea, says: "That could not have happened, therefore the text is not authentic, or the date does not coincide with the one universally admitted."

M. Goyau tells a very good anecdote of a pastor of Fribourg-in-Brisgau, who, in 1893, was giving a course of instruction to some teachers and was talking about the words of Saint Thomas to our Lord: "My Lord, and my God." This pastor declared that "Saint Thomas *could not* have spoken thus, for Jesus is not God but man."[1]

M. Harnack does not speak quite so naïvely as this pastor, but all the same when he studies the Gospel of Jesus he does so from the idea he has already formed for himself of Christianity, and he conforms facts and texts to this idea. Those who refute him do the same with another conception, and Christ becomes, as M. Georges Goyau so well puts it, for erudite Germany what He was for the Athenians in the time of the Apostle Paul—the Unknown God.[2]

And this is what He would soon be for us if the Catholic Church, under pretext of scientific method, gave any encouragement to the subjective and *a priori* method of the Protestant and Rationalistic commentators of contemporary Germany or even to the hypothetic results of their labours.

Another result which would soon be brought about and which indeed has in some instances been manifested would be the scandalous assertion so general

[1] *L'Allemagne religieuse*, p. 92, note.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 93.

nowadays in Protestant Germany that a double *truth* exists, one for the use of pastors and teachers and the other for the faithful taught; the one for the strong and the other for the weak.

Kattenbusch, one of the disciples of Ritschl, wrote that "it would be a blessing from God if all contemporary theologians, in spite of their disagreement on certain ideas, were to be consistent in using the language of the Bible and of the Reformation. Whoever uses this language loyally, *even under misapprehension*; whoever uses these words . . . as expressions which he cannot put on one side *even when they mean something else to him* than to many other souls of to-day and yesterday . . . such a one does not deserve contempt. . . . This language is a bond of union."[1]

One of the chief causes of the diffusion of Ritschlianism is precisely this facility which it gives to incredulous pastors to speak the language of the faithful.

But this equivocation which had become necessary from the fact of the education given to the ministry and the official functions required of them by the State Church was not to everyone's taste.

"Is the spirit of truth," sadly exclaims Pastor Dreyer, "and Luther's strict conscientiousness to be forgotten by us? Whoever would speak of sacred things must have for sovereign principle to never say a word of the truth of which he is not absolutely convinced."[2]

"Falsehood in the pulpit is worse than the want of pulpits," said a faithful pastor of Hambourg in

[1] Kattenbusch, *Von Schleiermacher zu Ritschl, zur Orientierung neber den gegenwartigen Stand der Dogmatik*, pp. 37-38. Giessen, 1893.

[2] *Undogmatisches Christenthum*, p. 52, Brunswick, 1890, quoted by Goyau, p. 128.

1894;[1] and three years before, in 1891, the superintendents of Hesse-Cassel had drawn up this pastoral letter, full of good sense:

"We cannot admit, in the matter of preaching the Redemption, that there is question of any other Christ than the real Lord Christ such as has been preached by the Evangelists and Apostles and such as the Church has believed in and still believes in until our own days, comformably to its creeds, especially the Apostles' Creed, which represents Christ to us in full, bold lines. . . . It is now a well-known fact that this Christ is being displaced by the description of a pretended *Historical* Christ which no historical source furnishes us with and which is not to be found in any of the letters of the Apostles or in one of the Gospels and of which the characteristics are gathered here and there in the Gospels by removing all that might appear to shock the personal thought of what is right and proper. . . .

"He who cannot join with the congregation in the great acts of God for our salvation at Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Whitsunday ought to be loyal enough not to wish for an ecclesiastical office in our churches."[1]

Yes, but what authority is to decide that the pastors may go so far and no farther? A Liberal leaflet[2] written in 1893 declared that "thousands of Protestants do not recognise the Apostles' Creed," and influenced by this statement it was decided to take it out of the ordination ceremony; it was put back in 1894, but the faith of the pastors was not thereby changed.[3]

[1] Max Glage, *Notschrei au die Christen auf und unter den Kanzeln Hamburgs*, p. 13. Hambourg, 1894. *Ibid.* p. 130.

[2] *Chronik.* 1893, p. 149, quoted by Goyau, 134.

[3] *The Deutsches Protestantenblatt*, quoted by Goyau, p. 115.

Pastor Glage says amusingly that the conscience of the young pastor is first handed over to the "university popes" and in thirteen universities out of seventeen, incredulity reigns.[1]

The State may easily maintain external unity in the Church. It is very easy to cover the most varied beliefs with the same roof and to call them by the same name, but the State cannot establish doctrinal unity, and indeed it would be against Protestant principles to do so. "What right have you," M. Goyau says, and with justice, "to restrict the conscience and researches of unbelieving professors? Thomas was a teacher, I also am a teacher, said John Wessel, whom Luther regarded as a precursor; like Luther and like this precursor the unbelieving professors are also teachers. . . . In this period of four centuries that the Reformation will shortly have lived, it has remained absolutely faithful to the principle of liberty of conscience and by the very fact of this liberty it has passed through the most surprising evolution until it has finally reached the antipodes of its original plan." [2]

Were time not so short we might make a similar study of French Liberal Protestantism, and we should arrive at the same conclusions reached only eight years ago by M. Francis de Pressensé in his famous preface to *Cardinal Manning* and that M. Gabriel Monod so well expresses in *The Historical Review* of May 1892.[3]

"Protestantism is but a series and a collection of religious forms of free thought."

Already in 1869 the Abbé Martin wrote with deep

[1] Goyau p. 166.
[2] *L'Allemagne religieuse.* p. 171.
[3] P. 103.

penetration: "By continually identifying itself with Rationalism, Protestantism is becoming the religious form of the ultimate negation not only for Protestants but also for a large number of Catholics, thus exercising the most dire influence over minds."

However, as a whole, Frenchmen refuse this strange conception of a religion. When they think they have no further intellectual motives of belief in revealed truth, when the latter does not appear to them to be sufficiently *proven*, they deny straightforwardly and go to Rationalism pure and simple. Does this mean, as has been said, that they are less religious than English or Germans? No, it is simply because of their logical turn of mind. Unless, like some of our contemporaries, their minds have been so steeped in contact with English and German writers, they cannot understand those equivocal standpoints and those intellectual compromises which do not seem to them to be consistent either with logic or with sincerity, and to speak frankly, I think they are quite in the right.

In any case I do not doubt that the good sense and the Christian spirit of French Catholics will be able to resist the more or less deliberate attempts made to carry them in one leap to the doctrinal extremes of German Protestantism. If so, they will further true knowledge as well as true faith.

X

Has Protestantism been more favourable than Catholicism to the Social and Political progress of Modern Nations? [1]

We are, in the face of numerous and irrefutable witnesses, willing to admit that the primitive doctrine of Luther, and in particular his theory on faith and works, may have led to the deterioration of Christian life and of public and private morals in the midst of the first generations which embraced the new doctrines; that, even nowadays, the moral and religious life is only kept to a certain level in Protestant countries in virtue of principles, directly opposed to those of the Reformation, by an unconscious return to Catholic principles, by authority, by education, and moreover that taken as a whole it does not surpass the moral and religious life of really Catholic countries; we are still more inclined to admit that the same primitive teachings of the founder of the Reformation have only been favourable to the study and progress of knowledge from the day when Protestants frankly entered the field

[1] For the bibliography add to the works already quoted in the two preceding chapters: Doellinger, *L'Eglise et les Eglises.* Bayle translation. Paris, 1862. Flamérion, *De la prosperité comparée des nations catholiques et des nations protestantes.* Paris, 1901. *Revue sociale catholique de Louvain,* May-June, 1899, article by Weyrich, *Infériorité économique des nations catholiques. Revue de Fribourg,* 1904, articles de E. Folletête, *De la prétendue infériorité des nations catholiques.*

of intellectul development—it may have been for the want of a guiding and authoritative hand—to the detriment of Christian dogma and to the profit of free thought. At least, add the upholders of the theory which we are refuting, it is a fact that you will concede in your turn because it is a fact and one not to be denied: the Protestant nations are nowadays the most powerful and most free in the whole world; by declaring for open inquiry and by breaking the yoke of Rome Luther laid the foundations of that social and political progress which makes nations great.

It is true that in the present state of things and since a certain number of years three nations, mainly Protestants—I say mainly because two of them contain a small but active Catholic minority—England, Germany, and the United States of America, rank among the greatest and most powerful nations in the world; as to Russia, which is systematically passed over in silence, if she is not Roman she is still less Protestant or free. Catholic France has been defeated by Protestant Germany and Catholic Spain by the Protestant United States: these two powers, which were formerly in the front rank, have retreated to the second or third. This fact is unfortunately incontestable.

So then, our adversaries say to us, Protestant countries rise and Catholic countries descend. Still more, adds M. de Laveleye, "in the same country, wherever the two religions are present, the Protestants are always more active, more industrious, more economical, and consequently richer than the Catholics."[1] Why?

Why? The answer is very simple, reply M. de Laveleye's publishers in their pamphlet of 1899.

[1] Pp. 5-6.

"As time unfolds and advances the principles of life and of death which are disseminated in the world present themselves more strongly. The consequences of the great act of moral and intellectual emancipation —the religious reformation of the sixteenth century— never have been more clearly seen than in our own times. Protestantism has classed people into two great families: that which looks ahead, evolves, progresses normally, and that which lags behind and can only see social salvation in the subjection of man to an authority which annihilates all that is vital in him."

In these words the publishers of M. de Laveleye do but develop the master's thoughts.

The Reformation, writes the latter, has furthered the progress of the peoples which have adopted it because it has always encouraged liberty; in the political and social order it has engendered free institutions and a representative régime, whence the internal peace and steady progress of Protestant nations; in the economic order she has developed the spirit of initiative, whence the triumph of industry and the increase of riches.

Catholicism, on the contrary, leads to despotism and consequently to anarchy; hence Catholic countries perpetually oscillate between absolute rule and violent revolution; being founded on the contempt of the world and on submission, it is the father of inertia.

Conclusion: the Reformation has given to the nations adopting it a strength for which history can hardly account; . . . the peoples subjected to Rome seem to be afflicted with sterility.[1]

Example: Ireland, which M. de Laveleye seriously compares with Scotland and England. The latter are Protestant, active, powerful, and rich; the former,

[1] Pp. 7-8.

on the contrary, is "given up to ultramontism, is poor, miserable, and swayed by a rebellious spirit; it is incapable of rising by its own strength."

I will not dwell on this odious comparison. Ireland is not a nation, M. de Laveleye; Ireland is a victim, the victim of the Protestant brutality of your heroic characters, Elizabeth, Cromwell, and William III.; and your comparison is just as magnanimous, and just as suitable as one made between the executioner and the unfortunate wretch he tortures. The executioner is big, strong, and well. The sufferer has his limbs dislocated and broken, he cannot rise by himself; assuredly he must be ultramontane and his executioner Protestant. Ah! M. Laveleye, if Germany, so great and so powerful, fell on your dear little Belgium, this would be another proof of the superiority of Protestantism over Catholicism, would it not?

But can you not see that even if the triple—the political, social, and economical—superiority of Protestant nations or populations were proved, still you would have no right to draw such conclusions, for if religion is one of the causes of the greatness of nations, there are still an infinity of others to be reckoned with; and an economist like yourself cannot ignore it. We have to make use of all the respect we have for our adversaries to take you seriously when you wish to reduce the whole question to two terms, race and cult; not race, therefore it must be cult.

One of your compatriots says very justly that, "if Spain was Catholic when defeated by the Americans, it is none the less true that she was still more Catholic when she banished the Moors, annexed America, and was victorious in many European battlefields."[1]

[1] M. Weyrich, *Revue sociale catholique* of Louvain; *De l'infériorité économique des nations Catholiques.* May-June, 1899.

If Protestant principles imply the greatness of nations, it may well be said that, apart from Holland, they have taken plenty of time to do their work; and that in any case it is a very remarkable thing that the effect has only taken place, especially in Germany, when Protestantism has ceased to be again, and when Lutheran principles have been forsaken for their contraries.

Moreover, if Catholic principles imply decadence it is really extraordinary that this decadence has only begun for Catholic nations since the day when their governments ceased to inspire those Catholic principles, especially in France. For the truth is there; Catholic countries are undermined by freemasons, by Jews, and Protestants with the connivance of their governments; and really these governments are not recompensed by the political greatness they have assured their countries.

But let us return to facts, and let us ask ourselves first if liberty does owe to Protestantism all that it is said to do.

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Speaking practically, liberty is not something vague and indefinite; it is the liberty of the human conscience, it is individual liberty, it is civil and political liberty. And I maintain that the reformers of the sixteenth century have furthered neither one nor the other of these three liberties.

How they understood individual religious liberty I have already shown, and I need not go over it again. Recall the declarations of Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, Theodore of Beza, and others. In fact, one country only practised liberty of conscience, and that was France under the régime of the Edict of Nantes from 1598 to 1685. But this is not the only way in which

Protestants have violated the freedom of human conscience, there is another much more serious. It is much to be regretted when the State intervenes in matters of conscience in the name of a moral and religious authority like the Church, but what can be said when the State itself becomes the director of consciences? And this is precisely the nature of Protestant rule. The Middle Ages had shed much blood to prevent the union of the spiritual and the temporal in one authority; and one cannot deny that this duality is a guarantee of liberty. All the princes who embraced the Reformation became the masters of the souls as well as of the bodies of their subjects. Can one dream of a more complete despotism?

The author of the *Mémoire* of 1802 recognises the fact in these words: "Protestant princes have everywhere become the supreme chiefs of the Church. This circumstance has not contributed to the growth of power which took place in most European governments after the Reformation and which may be regarded as a result of its influence. In Protestant countries the immense vacuum created by the sudden cessation of all ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction was promptly filled by the civil power which was thereby increased." [1]

It is especially in a writing published by Capito in 1537 [2] that the explanation of this system so humiliating to the dignity of a church and so compromising to the liberty of consciences should be seen. As Capito understands it, the Christian Church becomes a kind of Musulman Khalifat. "Every

[1] P. 119.

[2] *Responsio de missa, matrimonio et jure magistratus in religionem.* Strasbourg, 1540. Quoted by Doellinger, *La Réforme*, etc., vol. ii. p. 12.

sovereign," he says, "is by right head of the Church and the born representative of Jesus Christ in his States."[1] This system, which since the sixteenth century has been termed *Cæsaropapism*, has been described by other Lutherans and has made those who had any care left for the dignity of Christian consciences complain very bitterly.

Pandocheus, superintendent at Nordhausen, said: "Politicians have laid hands on the ecclesiastical power. . . . Formerly, as we are taught by Scripture, we were told: 'The Lord wishes it thus'; but now we are told: 'Thus wishes the bailiff, the public receiver, the baron, the mayor, etc.'"

Wigand, superintendent at Magdebourg and collaborator with Flacius Illyricus, complained still more bitterly of this shameful subjection of his Church: "The religious antichrist has been replaced by the political antichrist; thus is founded and consolidated the papacy of the Cæsars. . . . Should a pastor allow himself the least criticism on such or such an act of power just hear how they call out; but when our governors, in spite of their complete ignorance in religious matters, come into our synods booted and spurred and settle their religious questions as they crack their whips, they do not think they are doing anything which is not within their right, and even think they deserve praise for so acting."

"Instead of one pope," said Flacius, "we have now a thousand, that is as many as there are princes, magistrates, and great lords, who all together, or turn and turn about, exercise both ecclesiastical and civil offices and arm themselves with the sceptre,

[1] On the views of Capito with regard to the religious restraint exercised by the State *cf.* Paulus, *Die Strassburger Reformatoren und die Gewissensfreiheit.* Fribourg, 1895.

the sword, and spiritual thunders to dictate to us what doctrines we are to preach in our churches."[1]

More than a century later, Jurieu, wishing to bring about an agreement between Lutherans and Calvinists, said that this agreement could only be made by the princes.[2] "First of all, this pious work can only be done with the help of the princes of either party *because the whole reformation is being made by their authority.* Thus for the outset one must bring together, not the ecclesiastics who are always too attached to their own opinions, but politicians," who apparently, says Bossuet, will make a better business of their religion. These then "will examine the importance of each dogma, and will weigh justly whether such and such a proposition, supposing it be an error, is not capable of being made to agree or whether it may be tolerated." "That is to say," replies Bossuet, "that this assembly will confer on the essentials of religion, for it must decide what is fundamental or not, what may or may not be tolerated. It is the great difficulty but in this difficulty, so essential to religion, the theologians shall speak as lawyers, the politicians shall listen and be the judges with the authority of the princes." "Here then we have," says Bossuet, "princes openly become the sovereign arbiters of religion, with the essentials of the faith put absolutely into their hands. Whether this is religion or politics I leave the reader to decide." And Jurieu adds that before all conference and discussion "the theologians of both parties shall swear to obey the verdict of the delegates of the princes and to do nothing without

[1] See the dedicatory letters which accompany the centuries iv., v., and vii., quoted by Doellinger, vol. ii. p. 243.

[2] Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations.* Add to book xiv. No. 9.

general agreement." "One knows no longer," concludes Bossuet, "where one is or if Christians are speaking, when one sees the fundamentals of religion remitted to temporal authority and princes become the judges thereof."

After the revolutionary period and the Napoleonic wars it seemed as if the religious omnipotence of the State was about to yield to the spirit of the new times. But, as M. Goyau justly remarks, "Hegel, the theorist of metaphysical Jacobinism, came just in time to offer the State another pedestal than that constructed by the legislators of the past." His disciple Marheineke professed that the State and the Church were but the two aspects of one and the same institution; and in fact a heavier yoke than ever was laid on the Protestant churches.[1] For example the Prussian State hands over the affairs of the Church wholely and entirely to the Minister for the Interior. When Friedrich-Wilhelm III. wished to unite in one church the Lutherans and the Reformed Party of his kingdom, he imposed on all a common ecclesiastical institution and the same liturgical ritual (Agenda) and enforced his measures by the police.[2]

Since then, parliamentary government having triumphed a little more or less everywhere, parliaments have put forward a claim to share the religious power with the head of the State, as had been done in England since the sixteenth century. But this system is neither more liberal, nor less dangerous. The modern State is still less capable than the old one of governing the Church.[3]

Therefore it is not to be wondered at that in our

[1] Goyau, *l'Allemagne religieuse*, p. 281.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 282. [3] *Ibid.* p. 193.

times as in the foregoing centuries really religious and independent men have protested against such a state of affairs. On 15th May 1886 forty-two conservative members of the Prussian Landtag, and among them the Pastor Stoecker, signed the following motion:—"That the Chamber of Deputies decide to address to the royal government proposals to consider opportune measures which, while granting greater liberty and more independence to the Catholic Church, will also guarantee an equivalent increase of liberty and independence to the Evangelical Church and a greater wealth of means to supply religious wants."[1]

"The whole edifice of the State Church," wrote Pastor Stoecker, "is a contradiction with the nature of the Church. Let us pray for sovereigns who will suppress it. Only then will Protestantism have a Church."[2]

Undoubtedly one does not see nowadays the scandalous spectacle of populations obliged to change their religion *en masse* at the will of a prince; nevertheless the fact remains that an old political map of Germany in the seventeenth century gave us the religious map of Germany to-day; only where there was unanimity there now exists only a majority.[3]

"What is to be concluded therefrom save that in virtue of the principle *cujus regio, hujus religio*, faith, in spite of Luther's doctrines, has not been a product and inspiration of conscience but merely *a livery* imposed by some prince on his subjects."[4]

A livery! This is not exactly the sign of freedom.

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[1] Goyau, *l'Allemagne religieuse*, p. 190.

[2] *Ibid.* Introduction, p. xxvi.

[3] See H. A. Krose, *Konfessionstatistik Deutschlands*, with a map. Fribourg-in-Breslau, 1604, in 8vo.

[4] Goyau, *l'Allemagne religieuse*, p. 2.

But at least has not the Reformation furthered individual liberty? At the time it broke out, serfdom was gradually decreasing and already—Janssen and others have shown this—the peasants were free in the greater part of Germany. Luther appears on the scene: a wave of independence passed over the heads of the peasants; they rise and are crushed: then a yoke of iron is placed on them. Was this merely the ephemeral reaction of the moment? No, the movement of serfdom continues right into the seventeenth century.

At the diet of Mecklembourg in 1607, the peasants were declared to be mere ciphers, who were to give up to the masters of the soil at their demand the acres of land which they had possessed from time immemorial.

The liberty of these persons was suppressed by the ordonnances of 1633, 1648, and 1654. They tried to evade their hard lot by flight. Emigration was considerable. The most severe penalties, the whip, the carcan, even death, did not arrest its course or hinder the depopulation of the countryside. The fate of these unhappy slaves, it may well be said, hardly differed from that of the blacks. The only difference was that it was forbidden to separate them from their families or to sell them to the highest bidder in a public auction; yet this law was often eluded and the serfs were often trafficked like horses or cows. In Mecklembourg serfdom was not abolished until 1820.[1]

The introduction of the Reformation in Pomerania caused the renewal of a similar slavery. The law of 1616 decreed that all peasants were serfs w[illegible]t

[1] Boll, *Histoire de Mecklembourg*, 1855, vol 147, 148, 569, quoted by Doellinger, *l'Eglise*

claims of any sort. Preachers were obliged to denounce from their pulpits the peasant who had taken refuge in flight.[1]

Under Frederich II., in Prussia in the second half of the eighteenth century, at the time when Voltaire had pleaded so nobly for the serfs of the abbey of Saint-Claude, the soldiers after having carried arms and gained the victories which have made modern Prussia, were delivered up to their territorial lords, not only they, but also their wives, widows, and children, although born in a state of freedom.[2]

The Lutheran Reformation produced the same results in every country where it was established. You know that in Sweden the liberty of the peasants was the price the king paid for the assistance of the nobility in the accomplishment of the religious revolution. In Denmark and in Norway the nobles followed this example. In Denmark the peasant was subjected to serfdom like a dog. "Enforced labour," says the historian Allen, "was increased arbitrarily, the peasants were treated like serfs." As late as 1804, personal liberty was granted to twenty thousand families of serfs.[3]

It must be admitted that Calvinism did not produce such disastrous results. Having arisen in Geneva, a free and popular State, it retained some of its characteristics. But we know the narrow and jealous supervision which it exercises over individuals even in their private lives; the sway of Calvin at Geneva and that of Knox in Scotland was that of a brutal

[1] Barthold, *Histoire de la Poméranie*, iv. 359, quoted by Doellinger, *ibid.* pp. 81, 82.

[2] Ordinance of 7th April 1777. G. Doellinger, *L'Eglise et les*
7.

, *ibid.*, after Allen, p. 70 *sqq.*

inquisition of which the favourite instrument was domestic spying. Carried over to America the English Puritans kept and aggravated these exclusive and tyrannical ways.

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There still remains political liberty. No doubt Protestantism will now take its revenge. "These ideas that man is his own master, that he is free," says M. de Laveleye, "that one cannot demand a service or a contribution without his express consent, that the government, justice, and power, all are derived from the people, this set of principles which modern society seeks to apply were stifled in the Middle Ages by feudalism but have regained life in Switzerland, England, Holland, and the United States."

And how has this miracle been performed, this resurrection been brought about?

"It is thanks to the democratic element of the Reformation, and it is only in Protestant countries that order and prosperity are assured.

"Had France not persecuted, crushed, or exiled those of her children who had been converted to Protestantism, she could have developed these germs of liberty and of self-government which were nurtured in the provincial states."[1] All this is historically false, and one cannot help wondering that a man so well read as M. de Laveleye, dared to bring forward such unauthenticated assertion.

First, it is not true that the Middle Ages were a time of political servitude. Public life was in a state of rare activity, partly because of the dividing up of authority, of privileges obtained and consented to by powerful and rival institutions. What a fund of

[1] *L'avenir des peuples catholique*

liberty in the Italian republics! What independence in the provinces of Spain! What democratic fever and ofttimes turbulence in the large cities of the Netherlands! Were not German towns small and very free republics? In France too what a counterbalance to royal authority! It is not until the fourteenth century that the scales swing decidedly in favour of central power, and the whole is not finally evolved until the sixteenth century. But it was complete when Protestantism broke out, and the latter crowned it by strengthening, by resistance, and by imitation, the authority of the sovereign in the Church. Moreover, if at first the French Calvinists seemed to favour liberty, it was only when the royal power was against them. From the day the heir to the throne was a Protestant they quickly cast all their liberal and democratic theories to the winds and began to preach the doctrine of absolute legitimacy and of passive obedience to the sovereign, whoever he may be; it was then the Catholics' turn and the Leagues' in particular to revive their abandoned theories on the national sovereignty.

M. de Laveleye does not mention Germany or Scandinavia, and to speak frankly he is right.

In his *Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles* Luther writes: "Princes must know that they reign over rebellious subjects who only await a favourable opportunity for revolt, and that those who are at the head of affairs cannot do better than find out the best way of overcoming and mastering the crowd." And Melanchthon, as usual, echoes his words: "Such a wild and badly reared nation as the Germans have more freedom than they ought to have," he said.

This advice was followed to the letter. The absolut-

ism of princes was not strengthened only by the union of the spiritual with the temporal power. The seizure of ecclesiastical property enabled them to do without financial help from their *Estates*, and thus to complete the destruction of public liberty. This is what happened especially in Mecklembourg, Pomerania, in the duchies of Hanover, Brunswick, and Saxony. The Prussian state of Brandenbourg is one of the most remarkable of these results. During the reign of the Grand Elector Friedrich Wilhelm (1640-1688), absolute and arbitrary power was consistently developed. After 1656 no general diet was assembled; taxes were imposed by the princes and exacted by the military, so successfully that peasants and even nobles went over to Poland. "Prussia," according to the historian Stenzel, "was in a fair way to become like an Asiatic state where despotism stifles all that is noble and good."[1]

The very principle *cujus regio, hujus religio* helped to place under the safeguard of respectable rights of conscience both the old divisions of Germany and the most antiquated institutions of bygone days.

A Protestant historian, M. Georges Pariset, in his important work on *L'Etat et les Eglises en Prusse sous Frederic*, recently reached this conclusion: "Nowadays it is those countries which adopted the Reformation whose political evolution is the least advanced."

In Scandinavia as in Germany Lutheranism was only advantageous to the sovereign and the aristocracy. After the revolution of 1660, Frederick III., King of Denmark, and his successors declared themselves

[1] *Histoire des Etats Prussiens*, vol. ii. p. 456, quoted by Abbé Martin, *De l'avenir du Protestantisme et du Catholicisme*, p. 334.

absolute monarchs. The royal law of 1665 proclaimed that the king need take no oath, recognise no obligation of any kind, but could do all he pleased with full and entire authority. In Sweden it was but a series of revolutions provoked by the antagonism of the beneficiaries of the surreptitious introduction of Protestantism—royalty and the nobility. But royalty won the upper hand. In 1680 the Estates declared that the king was bound by no kind of government; in 1682 that they considered it an absurdity that the sovereign should be obliged by statutes and laws to be advised by the States; the latter changed their name from States of the kingdom into that of States of His Royal Majesty; in 1690 the absolute autocracy of the king became law, and it was so until the disasters and the death of Charles XII. brought about strife and the alternate victories of the aristocracy and the sovereign.[1]

Can we then be surprised to find these words in the mouth of Lord Molesworth in 1892: "All the people of Protestant countries have lost their liberty since they changed their religion for a better." Moreover, Lord Molesworth perceives the cause of this fall of liberty which is so noticeable: "In the Roman Catholic religion, with its supreme head of the Church at Rome, there exists a principle of opposition to unlimited political power."[2] Donoso Cortès, who was so unjustly accused of paradox, expressed this same thought later: "The Civil power is to be found increasing wherever the Church is losing ground and this is so evident that there can be no doubt of it; Civil despotism prevails in those countries where the power of the Church is oppressed

[1] Abbé Martin, according to Geijer, p. 333.

[2] Quoted by Doellinger, *l'Eglise et les eglises*, p. 72.

and the surest guarantee of the liberty of mankind is the independence of the Church."[1]

This explains the hostile attitude so often taken by the Civil power in the majority of Catholic States with regard to the Church, and its alliance with the nonconformists, an alliance as fatal to liberty as it is to morals, as we have evidence before our eyes every day.

It may be urged, however, that it is a notable fact that, in some countries at least, Protestantism and liberty have advanced hand in hand. Yes, when historical events permitted or exacted the development of liberty I admit that Protestantism has not hindered it; Protestant and especially Calvinistic individualism has even to a certain extent helped on the cause of liberty. Protestantism has been easily accepted by certain races or by certain nations precisely because in virtue of natural instincts or previous development they were profoundly individualistic. For where outside the two little countries of Holland and Switzerland are Protestantism and political liberty in agreement? In those nations which are of Anglo-Saxon origin, in England, and in North America, which is a colony of England. It is superfluous to point out that the progress of public liberty in England began before the Reformation; however far back one goes at least the germs of liberty are to be found, and it is under the wing of the Catholic Church that England, during a thousand years, acquired its institutions, its Parliament, its Universities, and all those things of which she is so justly proud. She was once the *Island of Saints*, and the great voice of the Roman Church still

[1] Donoso Cortès, speech quoted by the Abbé Martin, *De l'avenir du Protestantisme et du Catholicisme*, p. 335.

echoes in her land where so many monuments and ruins exist. Catholic England of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries was more free than Protestant England of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Henry VIII., Elizabeth, James I., and Cromwell can hardly be counted as champions of liberty.

There is a celebrated page in Quinet in *Le Christianisme et la Revolution*, on the origin of liberty in the United States: "A few forlorn men arrive on the coast of North America; poor, nameless, and without a past they carry but one book with them: it is the Bible. They open it on the shore and immediately begin to raise the new city on the plan of the book restored by Luther. . . . All American institutions bear the impress of the seal of the Reformation, for each of the founders goes apart into the depths of the forests, there he is the king of a little world, he is the monarch of a physical and moral universe. Nature and the Bible guide him. In this immensity he is himself a Church; priest, king, and artisan all together, he baptises his children; he marries them. Gradually other similar sovereigns reach his borders almost imperceptibly; the interspaces are filled; the cabin develops into a village and the village into a town. Society is evolved without the individual yielding any of his power. The Gospel which is everywhere open to all is the primitive bond of these hermits, and makes them the citizens of a republic of peers."[1]

There is a great deal of poetry in this page and some truth.

But it would not be just to see only Protestantism in the foundation and evolution of the Great Re-

[1] *Le Christianisme et la Revolution*, p. 291.

public. Catholics have also taken a part in the proceedings; who but they called for liberty of conscience when the sects were persecuting one another and the Protestant farmers were being chased from the mother country by other Protestants? as happened in Maryland, the state founded by Lord Baltimore. "It is curious," says a Protestant author, Professor Walters of Philadelphia, "to notice how at this time the Puritans persecuted their Protestant brothers in New England, how the Episcopalians used the same severity towards the Puritans in Virginia, and how the Catholics, against whom all were leagued, made a sanctuary in Maryland, where every man might worship as he pleased, where nobody was oppressed, and where Protestants were able to take refuge from Protestant intolerance."

It is true that later, when, after the death of Lord Baltimore, the Protestants seized the power in Maryland, religious liberty was suppressed. "In a country opened by Catholics to Protestants," says M. Baird, an American minister, "the Catholics were the only victims of Anglican intolerance."

According to Tocqueville the Irish Catholic emigration was the most republican and the most democratic.

"I think it is a mistake," says this great thinker, "to look upon the Catholic religion as a natural enemy of democracy. Among different Christian doctrines Catholicism, on the contrary, seems to me to be one of the most favourable to equality of condition. . . . In dogma Catholicism places all intelligences on the same level; the learned and the ignorant, the man of genius and the vulgar are bound down to the same detail of belief, the same practices are im-

posed on rich as well as poor, the same austerities on strong and on weak; Catholicism compromises with no man, and by applying the same measure to each mortal it manages to unite all classes of society at the foot of the same altar as they are united in the eyes of God."

As for Holland, constituted as she was by the struggle against a sovereign, looked upon as a stranger, and possessing no dynasty, it is not very surprising that she became a republic, but this republic was in the hands of a common aristocracy, and the democracy inclined to give back the power to the House of Orange. Holland, Calvinistic though she be, would not have triumphed over Spain without the help of England and of France. And if she has founded an immense colonial empire it is not because she is Calvinistic; Catholic Portugal did as much before Holland.

Switzerland, no more than England, did not wait for the Reformation to become a free country; and it is a fact to be noticed that the cantons which were the cradle of Swiss independence are precisely those which have remained Catholic; in the hope of overcoming them the Protestant cantons have often tried to destroy local liberty and to strengthen the central power.

Thus Protestantism does not appear to have been the principal factor of political liberty any more than of other liberties.

.

Time presses. I shall not say much about material prosperity as compared between Catholic and Protestant nations. To speak the truth, I might reply by a preliminary question. When the Pastor Roussel establishes by figures and memorandums that the

Protestants of Paris pay three times more taxes than the other inhabitants, and seems to affirm thereby that they are three times more virtuous and their religion trebly true; when M. de Laveleye exclaims: "Compare the Stock Exchange quotations in Protestant and Catholic states and notice the difference. The English 3 per cent. exceeds 92, the French 3 per cent. is nearly as low as 60!" (which in 1871 was more probably due to the war of 1870 than to religious difference); I might very well ask them if Christ suffered and died to increase the capital of His faithful and to raise percentages?[1]

Mr John Lemoine, who is not suspected of being excessively partial to Catholicism, could not resist discussing very cleverly and very sharply the assertions made by M. Napoléon Roussel. "M. Roussel," he remarks in the *Journal des Débats*, "tries to prove by a great show of figures that Protestants are much happier than Catholics in this world; that they possess larger incomes, greater industries, more plate and silver, more shirts and more boots. Hitherto we have always believed that at the Last Day God would place the good on one side and the bad on the other; but according to M. Roussel's system humanity is divided into two classes, one composed of fat people and the other of thin. God will not search our hearts but our stomachs. If this is the only moral the minister of the Gospel has to preach to the world, if there is no other conclusion he can draw from history, man cannot do better than feed himself up, and take

[1] Besides, these things vary according to circumstances. M. R. G. Lévy, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1st September 1902) *Déficits, et excédents des budgets européens*, tells us that "credit in Italy and Spain is increasing remarkably, whilst in France, England, and Germany it is on the decline."

care of himself and his business; the richest will always be the most virtuous. Such reading is heart-rending."

I might also show up the reverse side of this industrial wealth with which Protestants are said to have the monopoly, and I might recall how it is often dearly bought at the price of happiness and morality.[1] Mme. Brunhes, a woman of talent and sympathy, quite recently gave us new proofs of this fact in an essay published by the *Quinzaine* (Fortnightly).[2] With M. Le Play in *Réforme sociale* I will reiterate this great truth: "Experience agrees with many old axioms in teaching us that the accumulation of wealth by unworthy hands and a too exclusive application to material interests are certain causes of decline. . . . A nation becomes less great by perfecting the production of utilitarian objects than by striving to rule its appetites and overcoming its passions."[3]

Above all I should like it to be understood that if religion is not the unique cause of a nation's morality, neither can it be the principal cause of its temporal prosperity. The latter depends on many conditions of geography, history, race, climate, situation, and political power. The true religion will not fertilise a soil that is naturally sterile, nor will it fill the interior of the earth with coal and ore.

For centuries the greatest nations were those near the Mediterranean, where the cultivation of the soil required a supreme individual effort, thereby developing personal energy. Then came the industrial age, when England and Germany, which possessed abund-

[1] See for England especially Léon Faucher, *Etudes sur l'Angleterre*, vol. i.

[2] Number for 16th March 1904.

[3] *Introduction*, vol. i. p. 12.

ant coal mines, had the advantage over those whi possessed none. Perhaps "white coal" will alt things again.

Neither will the true religion annihilate, althoug it may lessen the effects of a tropical climate. Th superiority of northern populations over the souther is to be accounted for by the fact that the continuou heat is enervating, and that the almost spontaneou fertilisation of the soil is not conducive to work.

The Sicilians or Neapolitans would not becom indefatigable workers if they were to adopt the thirty nine articles. If the English submitted themselv to the Pope the commerce of Sheffield and Man chester would not lose in importance. The Reforma tion did not make the Swedes or Norwegians a industrial people any more than it did the Germa in days gone by. If Germany has nowadays becom a powerful and industrial country the Catholic the Rhenish Provinces is as good as the Protestan of Saxony.

M. de Laveleye forces an unfavourable compariso between the Protestant cantons of Latin race an the Catholic cantons of German origin in Switze land: "The first," he says, "are far better than th latter with regard to education, literature, arts an sciences, industry, commerce, wealth, cleanliness, i a word with regard to civilisation in all its aspec and acceptations. The first are Latin but Protestan the latter Teutonic but subject to Rome. Therefo it is cult and not race which is the reason of the superiority. Let us look at one canton—that Appenzell—which is inhabited entirely by the sam Teutonic population. Between inner Catholic Rhod and outer Protestant Rhodes there is exactly th same contrast as between the inhabitants of Neu

châtel and those of Lucerne and Uri. . . . Hence again it is cult and not race which is the cause of the superiority of one over the other."[1]

At least, M. de Laveleye, if it be not the situation; there is some impertinence in comparing the fertile and smiling lands on the shores of Lakes Geneva and Neufchâtel with the mountains of Haut-Valais, and Lausanne with Zermatt. And this appalling parallel between inner and outer Rhodes in the canton of Appenzell might well be dealt with in the same way. Outer Rhodes consists of the charming valleys and hills which slope gently towards Lake Constance; Inner Rhodes is high mountainland. And Mr Hepworth Dixon, on whose authority M. de Laveleye leans for support, appears to have noticed this fact although he draws the same conclusions: "Compare," he writes, "a Protestant canton to a Catholic one. For example Appenzell, Inner Rhodes to Outer Rhodes and judge for yourself with a thorough knowledge of the matter. There is as much difference between these two half cantons as between Berne and Valais. In the *lower part* of the country the villages are constructed in wood, it is true, but all is neat and nice-looking. . . . Climbing plants cover the walls. . . . Urchins sing on their way to school. The streets are clean, the markets are well filled, and all the folk well dressed. *On the mountains* it is just the contrary. Poverty and desolation reign."

What accumulations of dirty rubbish there must be in the villages of M. de Laveleye's native country during the twenty years that Catholics have been in power!

Like Mr Hepworth Dixon, M. de Laveleye forgets to tell us that in this enchanted land of Outer Rhodes

[1] *Op cit.* p. 5.

there are 14 suicides to every 100,000 inhabitants and 87 divorces for 1000 marriages, while in poor Inner Rhodes there is only 1 suicide to 100,000 inhabitants and 14 divorces for 1000 marriages.[1]

God would have subjected the true faith to too great a trial if He had permitted that in the social progress of things, all the good things of this world were entirely on the side of error. But it is not so, even in a purely economical order. It may happen, and it does happen, that Protestants, like the Jews, being more entirely preoccupied with the things of this world, are better business men than good Catholics. I do not want to appear unkind in reminding them of the words of our Lord, that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light."[2] But looking at things altogether, with all other conditions equal, one cannot assert the inferiority of Catholic nations because they are Catholic. France is a great power from an economical point of view; as for Belgium, she is almost at the head of industrial nations and is far in advance of the Dutch Netherlands. In Switzerland the Catholic canton of Fribourg is a model of initiative and activity in every way. And to return to the comparison just quoted, even poor Valais is not really so poor. A few years ago the conferences of the Swiss branch of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul were held at Saint-Moritz, and it was declared by the members of these conferences that they did not know how to employ their resources or their time in Valais, *for they had no poor*.[3]

[1] See the statistics given on pp. 55, 81, and 98 in Krose, *Der Einfluss der Konfession auf die Sittlichkeit.* [2] St Luke ch. xvi. ver. 8.

[3] Quoted by the Abbé Martin, *De l'avenir du Protestantisme et du Catholicisme*, p. 197.

When will one be able to say the same of these great industrial centres which are so proudly boasted of?

.

My task is finished. As I had intended to do, I have shown you, without ever losing sight of history, that the problems set by the sixteenth century are as active and important as ever in our own days. I denounced to you—and I do so again at the conclusion of these lectures—the attempt made by certain revolutionary spirits, united to Protestants and aided by unconscious Catholic allies, to protestantise France either openly or by subtle assaults on the intellect. A clever ruse, because Protestantism satisfies all the instincts of revolt and, moreover, makes use of the need of religion and the sense of the divine which is innate in all men. Nearly thirty years ago, M. de Laveleye wrote: "In religion one only annihilates[1] what can be replaced." And lately M. Yves Guyot takes up the same idea. Both echo the same sentiments of Edgar Quinet, the prophet some years ago so willingly invoked by our democracy.

He found fault with the Revolution, as you know, for not having supplied a new worship in place of the old one and for not having used force to do so. "Force," he wrote to Eugène Sue, "is the only means which has succeeded in overcoming an ancient belief. All religions which have disappeared from the face of the earth have done so by force and authority; while on the contrary there has not been one, however foolish and absurd, which has ever been dethroned and extirpated by liberty of discussion only. The whole world repeats that force is useless against

[1] Kills by substituting one belief for another.

belief and the whole world is witness to the contrary."[1]

And he adds in his *History of the Revolution*: "If Luther and Calvin had been content to establish liberty of worship *without adding anything* there would never have been any religious revolution in the sixteenth century.

"What did they do then? Just this: after having condemned the old religious institutions they admitted others, on which they built new societies. . . . All, without exception, looked upon the old religion as an enemy, or at least veiled it and put it away for as long as seemed necessary to impress other moral habits, another spirit on the nation. . . . That is how all the societies which have broken with the past have succeeded by changing not only their outer appearance, but their inner spirit, the only revolution, speaking truthfully, which deserves the name. This is just what the Revolution did not dare undertake: that was it; capital crime; that was what it should have dared. 'Oh John Huss, oh Luther, Zwingli, Savonarola, Arnold of Brescia! humble monks! poor hermits! Give courage to these unfettered tribunes. . . . If great Mirabeau and the Constituants were too timid to follow in your steps *lend your help to those who are come after them.*'"[2]

Lend your help to those who are come after them! The words have been spread abroad: it was taken up by the revolutionaries of to-day, by those who at the Bern Congress in 1868 made this significant statement by one of their members: "It is not to be held that each may choose his belief; man has no right to

[1] Letter on the religious and moral situation of Europe by Edgar Quinet to Eugène Sue, 1856, quoted by the Abbé Martin, p. 456.

[2] *La Révolution*, by Edgar Quinet, vol. i. book v., Religion.

remain attached to error (apply to Catholicism): *liberty of conscience is but a weapon.*"[1]

What has so long been said in a whisper is now proclaimed aloud, and for twenty-five years its accomplishment has been aimed at. That liberal Protestants either in politics or in the Universities should have become the agents of this revolution which was to terminate in the triumph of their teaching is not to be wondered at nor even to be blamed if they do not proceed hypocritically.

But it is our right and our duty to resist them. We do not wish to become Protestants, not only because we do not believe that Protestantism is the true form of Christianity, but because—my whole ambition is to have given you the proof—Protestantism does not possess that boasted superiority over Catholicism, neither in the moral, intellectual, nor social order. Left to itself and if it does not react against its own principles it cannot be other than an instrument of dissolution.

And now I must turn to our separated brethren, who in the sincerity of their souls declare and believe themselves to be Christians, and I will say to them: If the men who founded Protestantism—Luther, Calvin, Zwingli—were inspired of God, and that you must believe if you are a really Christian Protestant—how is it that you have changed their creeds in a manner they would never have allowed? How is it that their work is so completely the opposite of what they would have wished and foreseen? God does not contradict Himself.

Or if these men were rebels and heretics towards the Church founded by Jesus Christ—and it is we who teach this—then if you wish to become Christians

[1] Quoted by Abbé Martin, p. 241.

you must submit to the Church against which they rebelled.

Or again, if these men were simply religious thinkers who humanly accomplished a purely human work, and this is what the most logical among you believe, then you must believe like them that dogma changes, that religious knowledge is merely suggestive and symbolical, that it admits all present and possible contingencies of private interpretation. But in this case you are no longer Christian.

That the work of the first reformers was a purely human undertaking and that in time it would end by denying even the fundamental doctrines of Christianity is precisely the verdict given by the authorities of the Church four centuries ago. After all they did not do anything but say, like the Protestants of to-day, of the Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrines, of the Confessions of Augsbourg and of La Rochelle: "This system is condemned."

If you do not see anything—and you cannot see more—in the first work of the reformers but a human work, well then! be logical; come back to the Roman Church or give up Christianity, be Catholics or Free Thinkers.

But rather, because I am a priest and not merely a historian and critic, and because I know that you love Jesus Christ and I will not leave you any alternative, I will, like Father Denifle at the end of his great work on *Luther and Lutheranism*, cry out to you from the bottom of my heart:

"Los von Luther, zurüch zur Kirche."
"Be quit of Luther, return to the Church."

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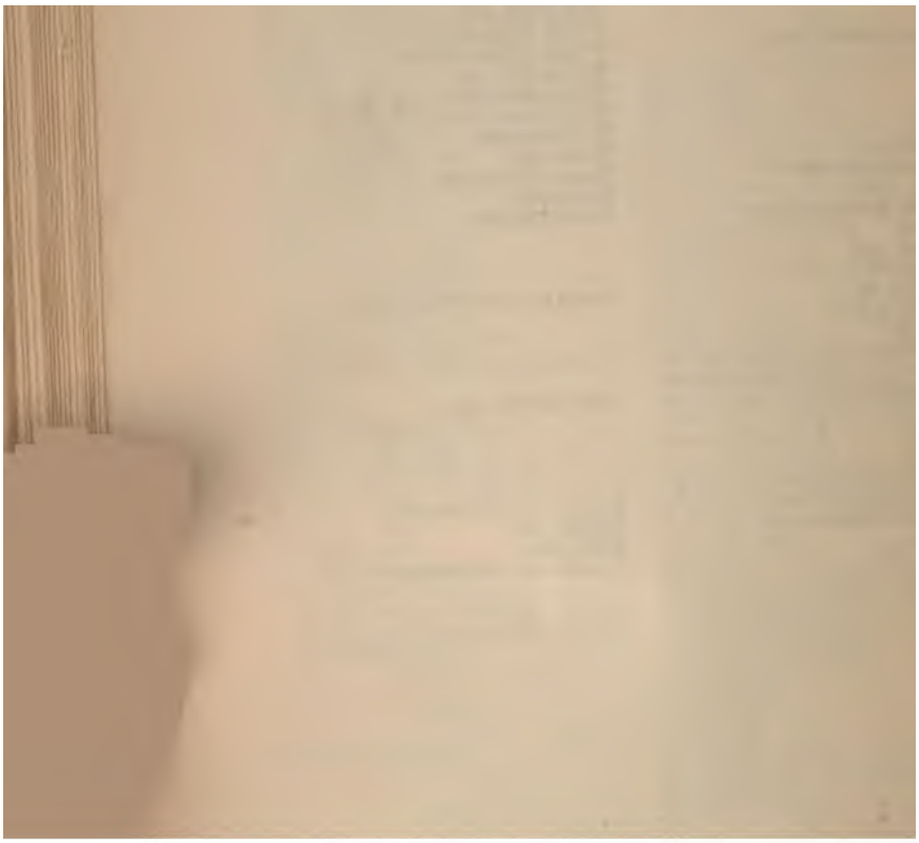
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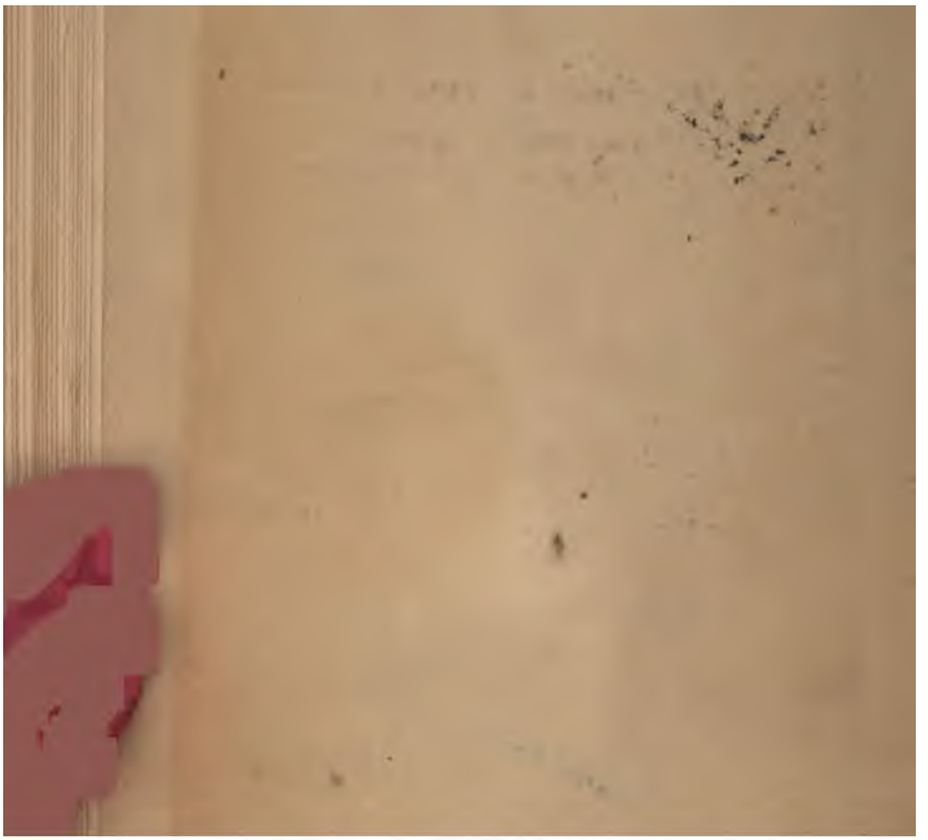
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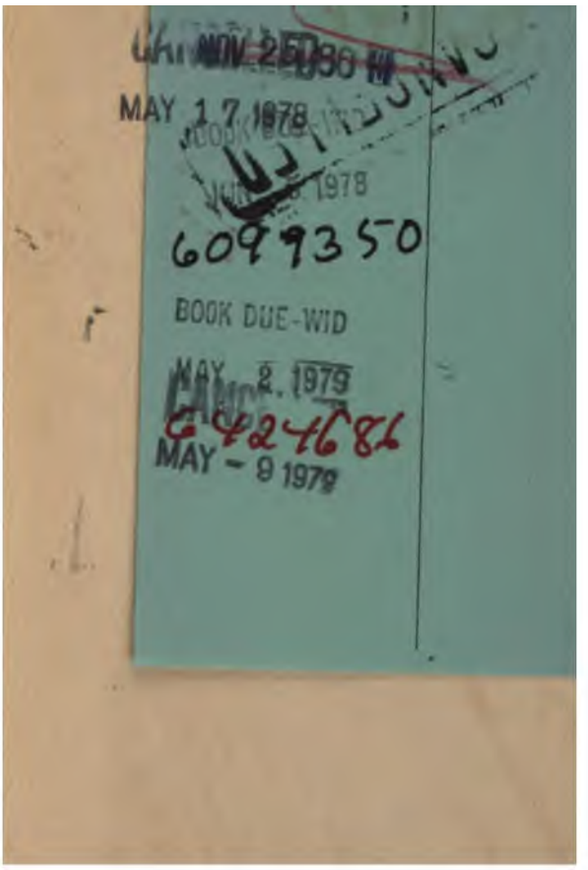
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